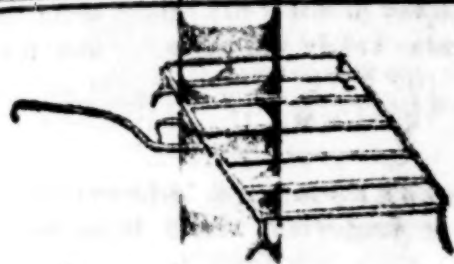


# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 24.—No. 10.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 7TH, 1834.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



"As the END approacheth, one of the symptoms of the approach will be, an incessant jangling in the Ministry, and a chopping and changing of Ministers, the characters and talents of whom will fall lower and lower, till, at last, no man will consent to be a Minister, unless he stand in need of the necessities of life." *Register*, 14. Nov. 1829.

## CHOPPING IN THE MINISTRY.

Bolt-court, 4. June, 1834.

I TAKE the same motto that I had last week; and it is still more pointedly applicable now than it was then. To be sure, reason always told me that it must come to this; that we should at last see indescribable *lowness*, to use a mild term, in the composition of the "statesmen," amongst whom the King would have to choose; but still, as in all similar cases, notwithstanding the correctness of our foresight, we cannot help being staggered at what we behold. On Monday night, the second instant, Sir JAMES GRAHAM and Mr. STANLEY took their places in the House of Commons, on the same side of the House as the Ministers; but at a distance from the Treasury Bench, and in a compartment of the House, to the members who sit in which, Mr. O'CONNELL has given the name of the "armed neutrality."

The first motion that was made was to resume the adjourned debate on Mr. WARD's motion, the purport and tendency of which I stated in the last *Register*. I ought to mention here, that Mr. WARD, in his original notice of mo-

tion, did not omit to provide for compensation to the owners of advowsons, a circumstance which I was not aware of when I wrote the last *Register*. Upon the motion for resuming the adjourned debate being made, Lord ALTHORP stated that his motive for having moved the adjournment of the debate on the Tuesday before, was the difference of opinion amongst the Ministers relative to the motion of Mr. WARD, and the consequent resignation of a part of them. He then added that the King had actually signed a commission to appoint certain *laymen* to go to Ireland, and to ascertain the proportion of church-people compared with Catholics and Dissenters, in order that the Parliament might be informed of the degree in which the revenues of the Irish church exceeded the wants of the Irish church-people; and, as he pledged himself that the Ministry would then act upon the principle that the Parliament had a right to deal with the property of the church, he suggested to Mr. WARD to withdraw his motion, and to confide in the Ministers for acting on this principle on the report of the commission.

Mr. WARD objected to withdraw his motion, unless there were some vote of the House recognising its principle. Therefore, the debate was resumed, upon Lord ALTHORP moving the *previous question* on Mr. WARD's motion. Pretty early in the debate Mr. STANLEY got up in support of the *previous question*; but, at the same time, expressing his regret that it was not a motion for a direct negative. He, then, in one of the finest speeches that ever was made, and in the most clear and unqualified language; in words and sentences, the true meaning of which the most simple person in the world could not mistake; and in a tone scorning all disguise, all reservation, all provision for future changing or shuffling, stated to us the grounds upon which he and Sir JAMES GRAHAM had seceded from the Ministry.

L

He said, that he agreed with his colleagues who remained in the Ministry, so far as to assert the right of Parliament to regulate the application of church-property to church purposes; to make rules and regulations such as it might deem necessary to the preservation of the establishment and the advancement of religion; but that he never had agreed with them, or with any body else; he never had recognised, and never would recognise, the principle, that the Parliament had a right to *take away* from the church any part of its revenues or property of any description; and to apply it to purposes other than those of the church itself.

This was the ground upon which he separated with his colleagues, and which he told us was also the ground of Sir JAMES GRAHAM. He sat down declaring his intention to vote for the previous question, and regretting that he had not a direct negative to vote for. While he was speaking every one perceived that some one amongst the remaining Ministers must get up to answer him. The lot fell upon Mr. SPRING RICE. I will not say any thing ill-natured; but the contrast was so great as really to inspire pity for this remnant of a Ministry. Lord JOHN RUSSELL did a little better; but there came afterwards Mr. O'CONNELL, in a speech ridiculing the commission and ridiculing the Ministry and their whole proceeding, exposing the motive of the delay and all the whole of the shuffle, till, at last, the House really seemed to be ashamed of calling the thing a Ministry that was sitting there chastised before it. As if this were not enough, came Sir ROBERT PEEL, who expressed his determination to vote for the previous question, and expressing also his grief with Mr. STANLEY, that he could not vote for a direct negative. These three speeches of Mr. STANLEY, Mr. O'CONNELL, and Sir ROBERT PEEL, were the three best that I ever heard in one debate, at any rate.

These speeches met with no answer. Mr. LEFROY followed with a strange sort of doctrine; but the House was

impatient; and though his doctrine was very well worthy of attention, it attracted but very little. The Ministers *might* have answered; there were the materials ready at hand; and they ought to have known where to find them; there were the materials for a complete answer to Mr. STANLEY and to Sir ROBERT PEEL; but to have resorted to those materials would have placed the Ministers in a situation such as they had not the courage to look at, nor to think of. They, therefore, resorted to vague assertions of the right of Parliament to deal with church-property; but those assertions they did not dare to embody in a specific declaration put upon the records of Parliament. It was hinted to them, that they avoided this course, lest they should lose two more of their colleagues, members of the other House! This they positively denied; but still there remained to be explained, why they refused to *put their principle upon record*.

Now, let us look a little at the effect of this commission; and see what the church is likely to gain by it; see whether, with regard to the church, it be preferable to the passing of the motion of Mr. WARD. What is it? It is a commission to inquire what proportion of the people of Ireland are church Protestants; what proportion are Catholics; and what proportion are Protestant Dissenters; and the Ministers declare their intention to take away and secularize that portion of the revenues of the church of Ireland, which is beyond the spiritual wants of the several flocks. Now, it is very well known that the church Protestants are only about one out of every sixteen; consequently only about a sixteenth part of the revenues will be left to the clergy of the church of Ireland, unless this commission be a downright fraud. If this were all, however, it would be a comparative trifle; but, if this commission be proper with regard to Ireland, *why not a similar commission with regard to England?* This was too obvious a question not to be put by Mr. STANLEY, and which he did put, in a most powerful manner, not omitting to describe any one of the con-



sequences so fatal to the church. Sir ROBERT PEEL also insisted that the like *must come to England*. He observed that the church-rate extinguishment had already come to England, and that this commission of inquiry as to relative numbers would not fail to follow it.

It is manifest that it must come to England; and then it will be found, that the church revenues here are much too large for the spiritual wants of the flocks who attend the church. In several parishes in England, the Roman Catholics alone form the majority, or something very nearly approaching it. In, I believe, a majority of the parishes, the Protestant Dissenters and the Catholics together, form the majority. You will find parishes with a clerical revenue of a thousand or two of pounds, and with three-fourths of the people going to meeting-houses. Why are the Catholics and Dissenters of England not to have the benefit of a commission as well as those of Ireland? Upon what ground is this distinction to take place? The principle is acknowledged by the Ministers, that Parliament has a right to deal with church-property, to take it, and apply it to secular uses. By this commission the King recognises the principle of *enumeration*; and I should like to know, why these principles are not to be applied to England as well as to Ireland: it is *one and the same church*: its rights in one country are precisely that which they are in the other country; and it is impossible that those rights can be set aside in one country, without being set aside in the other. The commission is better than Mr. WARD's motion; it is more decisive as to principle; it is more practical and conclusive.

The Dissenters, if this commission be really and truly acted upon according to the pledges of the Ministers, may save themselves the trouble of petitioning any more for a severing of the church from the state; for this commission, applied to England, as it must be, will do the whole thing most effectually.

The House, probably, without perceiving this, finally adopted the previous question, 396 voting for it, and 120 voting against it; and thus this

commission is expected to go into effect.

I should deceive my readers, however, if I were to disguise from them my suspicions with regard to the object and to the result of this commission. I think that it was a hasty, and rather a desperate step to preserve the Ministry from a total dissolution. To have opposed Mr. WARD's motion in any way, whether by direct negative, or by previous question, would, in all probability, have left the Ministry in a minority, and have withdrawn from them a majority of their supporters. The commission was intended to parry the thrust; to stave off the immediate imminent danger, and thus to prevent a total dissolution and breaking up of the Ministry. But, the remedy will be found to be far worse than the disease. This commission, and the object of it, are thus described, in a paper which Lord ALTHORP read to the House.

"The expediency of an inquiry into  
"the state of religious and other in-  
"struction, and the means of affording  
"the same, now existing in Ireland;  
"it will authorize and appoint the com-  
"missioners, any two or more of them,  
"to visit every parish in Ireland, and to  
"ascertain on the spot, by the best evi-  
"dence which they can procure, there  
"or elsewhere, the number of members  
"of, or persons in communion with the  
"united church of England and Ireland  
"in each benefice or parish, distin-  
"guishing, in the case of such benefices  
"as comprise more than one parish,  
"the number belonging to each parish  
"separately, and to the union collec-  
"tively; and also to state the distances  
"of the parishes in each union, from  
"each other, respectively; to state the  
"number and rank of the Ministers be-  
"longing to, or officiating within each  
"benefice, whether rector, vicar, or  
"curate, and whether resident or non-  
"resident; to state the periods at which  
"divine service is performed in each  
"parish church or chapel, and the  
"average number of persons usually  
"attending the service in each, and to  
"state generally whether those mem-  
"bers have been for the last five years

" increasing, stationary, or diminishing ;  
 " to ascertain the number of the several  
 " other places of worship belonging to  
 " Roman Catholics or Presbyterians or  
 " other Protestant Dissenters, and the  
 " number of ministers officiating in  
 " each, the proportion of the population  
 " of each parish belonging to each of  
 " such persuasions respectively, the pe-  
 " riods at which divine service is per-  
 " formed in each of their chapels, and  
 " the average number of persons usually  
 " attending the service in each ; and to  
 " state generally whether those num-  
 " bers have been, for the last five years,  
 " increasing, stationary, or diminishing.  
 " To ascertain the state of each  
 " parish, with reference to the means of  
 " education, the number and description  
 " of schools, the kind of instruction  
 " afforded therein, the average attend-  
 " ance at each, and the sources from  
 " which they are supported ; and to  
 " state generally whether the numbers  
 " attending the same have, for the last  
 " five years, been increasing, stationary,  
 " or diminishing. To inquire generally  
 " whether adequate provision is now  
 " made for the religious instruction and  
 " for the general education of the  
 " people of Ireland. To report such  
 " other circumstances connected with  
 " the moral and political relations of the  
 " church establishment, and the reli-  
 " gious institutions of other sects as  
 " may bring clearly into view their  
 " bearings on the general condition of  
 " the people of Ireland."

Can any thing more be wanted com-  
 pletely to upset the church in Eng-  
 land? Every one will say, that this is  
 all that is wanted. But, without this,  
 the Ministry did not dare meet the  
 House of Commons on Monday night.  
 It was, therefore, read to the members  
 assembled at Lord ALTHORP'S house on  
 that day, in order to ascertain whether  
 they would support him in moving the  
 previous question. It was a mere expe-  
 dient to save the Ministry from being  
 broken up.

Lord GREY had, on the 29. of May,  
 signified his intention to retire from  
 office himself; observing, and very  
 justly, that, if he were abandoned by

those on whom he relied for carrying on  
 the affairs of the state, it was not to be  
 expected that he, at seventy years of  
 age, should remain to be buffeted  
 about in the first place ; and, finally,  
 actually to be turned out of his  
 office.

In this state of things a large number  
 of the members of the House of Com-  
 mons addressed a letter to him in the  
 following words, the letter being con-  
 veyed through Lord EBRINGTON.

#### " TO EARL GREY.

" MY LORD,—We have heard with  
 " deep concern that the changes which  
 " have taken place in the administration  
 " might possibly lead your lordship to  
 " contemplate retirement from office.

" Impressed with the firmest con-  
 " viction that the country is indebted  
 " to you for the success of measures  
 " the most essential to the public  
 " welfare, and assured that your re-  
 " signation at this crisis would produce  
 " consequences most injurious to the  
 " peace and prosperity of the com-  
 " munity, we venture to express to your  
 " lordship our undiminished confidence  
 " in the wisdom with which you have  
 " held the reins of Government, and  
 " our unshaken attachment to those  
 " principles which you have so effi-  
 " ciently and consistently maintained.  
 " We desire, therefore, to convey to  
 " you our anxious hope that you will  
 " not be induced to retire from his  
 " Majesty's councils whilst you can  
 " continue to preside over them as you  
 " have hitherto done, with so much  
 " honour to yourself, and so much  
 " benefit to the country."

His lordship's answer is deeply in-  
 teresting to the country: it has given  
 great umbrage, instead of satisfaction ;  
 at least, so the *Morning Chronicle* says,  
 even to those who signed the letter  
 addressed to his lordship.

May 31, 1834.

" DEAR LORD EBRINGTON,—I re-  
 " ceived yesterday evening your very  
 " kind note accompanying the letter,  
 " which had been written under the  
 " impression that I had determined to



"retire from the situation which I now hold.

"Whether I regard the expressions contained in the letter itself, or the number and respectability of the signatures, I cannot help feeling this to be one of the most gratifying testimonials of confidence and good opinion ever received by any public man.

"It imposes on me the duty of making every personal sacrifice that can be required of me, and which can be useful for the support of the principles on which the present administration was formed. But I will not conceal from you, that declining strength makes it extremely doubtful whether I shall be found equal to the task which is thus imposed upon me.

"If my endeavours to supply the places of those of whose services the country has been so unfortunately deprived prove successful, it is only by the support of honourable and independent men, in conducting the Government on *safe and moderate principles*, that I can hope to get through *the difficulties which are before me*.

"Founded on the principles of reform, the present administration must necessarily look to the *correction of all proved abuses*. But in pursuing a course of *salutary improvement*, I feel it indispensable that we shall be allowed to proceed with *deliberation and caution*; and *above all*, that we should not be urged by a constant and active *pressure from without*, to the adoption of any measures, the necessity of which has not been *fully proved*, and which are not *strictly regulated* by a careful attention to *the settled institutions* of the country, both in *Church and State*.

"On no other principle can this or any other administration be conducted with advantage or safety.

"I am, &c.

"GREY."

If the reader pay attention to the words which I have marked by italics,

he will find very little ground for hoping that his lordship intends to pursue that course of reforming abuses, without which course the nation never can be satisfied. Here are so many qualifications: the principles are to be *moderate*: the abuses are to be *proved*: and then there comes an ugly BUT; the improvement is to be *salutary*: the progress is to be marked with *deliberation and caution*: there is to be no pressure from without to urge the adoption of measures, the necessity of which has not been *fully proved*: the measures must be strictly regulated by the *settled institutions*, both in *church*, and state. Now, the fair meaning of this is, that he will consent to no change whatsoever of any considerable magnitude; and it puzzles one to divine why he should have parted with Mr. STANLEY and Sir JAMES GRAHAM. To have agreed to Mr. WARD's motion would, indeed, have been not to have been strictly regulated by the settled institutions of the country; but, to issue the commission, accompanied with the declarations of the Ministers, is as great, and a much more obvious, departure from those institutions. Therefore, people suspect the sincerity of the declarations of the Ministers. Viewed in conjunction with this letter of Lord GREY, people must suspect that the commission is not intended to lead to an alienation, a *taking away*, of any part of the property of the church; they must suspect that it is a mere expedient to put off the evil hour; to gain time; to have breathing time; and that, in short, there is no security whatsoever, that the commission will be acted upon in a manner that the majority of the House seem to expect. The quarrels about this church were the principal cause of bringing *one king to the block*; to uphold this church, another *king was driven from his throne*; to uphold this church, the *national debt* was invented; to uphold this church, the *Septennial Act* was passed; to preserve this church was the principal object of the twenty-two years war against France; to uphold this church, a debt of eight hundred millions has been contracted; to

uphold this church, the Irish Coercion Bill was passed by a reformed Parliament; what remains for it to accomplish, or to cause to be done, no man can tell; but this is certain, that it must now triumph against the will of ninety-nine hundredths of the people of the whole kingdom; or that it must cease to exist as a dominant church, upheld by the state.

With regard to the Ministry as it now stands, all that it has to do to retain its power is, to act in conformity to the wishes of the people. It is merely now existing under the forbearance of the House of Commons, which is waiting to see how far it will go. It is surrounded with suspicions; and, if it act in a suspicious manner, it will soon find it impossible to get on; and Lord GREY will find himself under the necessity of retiring at last. *What is to come next? Who is to make up a Ministry, in whom the people will have confidence?* These questions can be answered by nobody, except by mere guess. The system has brought itself very nearly to an END: it must be changed; and wholly changed. It cannot go on any longer; Lord GREY has to choose between acting in a manner contrary to that which is stated in his letter, and the quitting of his office, and leaving the whole affair to chance.

It is reported that Lord ALTHORP will leave his office from a cause that must take him to the House of Peers; and that Mr. ABERCROMBY is intended to succeed him! Look at the motto again, reader, and deny that I am a prophet, if you can! Why, this gentleman, though, I believe, a very worthy man, is a heavy pensioner, already; and, as to his skill in finance, he was one, I believe, of the bullion-committee of 1810; and I know that he was amongst the most conspicuous of the blunderers, who voted for, and who predicted the most salutary effects from, the fatal bill of 1819. However, thus it must be, "*as the end approacheth.*" There is no guessing; not even guessing at what a Ministry may do with such a Chancellor of the Exchequer leading the House of Commons. There will be

"salutary improvements" with a vengeance! There will be "*deliberation and caution.*" There will be measures "*strictly regulated by settled institutions*": there will be, in short, or, at least, so I believe, that which I predicted in my address to the people of England, when I started for LONG ISLAND; namely, "a blundering along from expedient to expedient, till, at last, amidst the war of opinions and of projects, of interests and of passions, the whole thing will go to pieces like a ship upon the rocks"; leaving behind it a warning to all future churches and states, how they contract debts of eight hundred millions.

Lord GREY talks of "*the difficulties which are before him.*" Why, the greatest of all these have been created by himself! His poor-law commission and his Poor-law Bill form the greatest difficulty that he has to contend with. And, is this Poor-law Bill "*strictly regulated by the settled institutions of the country*"? Is it not in direct contradiction to those settled institutions? Is it not a pulling to pieces that which has been established for two hundred and forty years? Have not the poor-laws existed ever since the church has existed? and, shall the former be violated, abrogated, torn to atoms, and the latter remain untouched? This is the greatest of all his difficulties: it disturbs the whole kingdom of England and Wales; it fills with alarm every proprietor of a barn and a homestead. It shocks the feelings of every man in the kingdom, who has the smallest particle of humanity about him; it is a sweeping revolutionary measure; and it is *all his own work*! He had difficulties before him quite enough; and he must needs create this in addition; while he takes special care to preserve the pension-list untouched, and to keep in force every act of his predecessors, however grating to the souls of the people. Let him, therefore, not complain of difficulties: let him take them as his due, and let him get out of them as well as he can.

WM. COBBETT.



## HEDDEKASHUN.

ON Tuesday, the 3. instant, Mr. ROXBUCK made his motion, at the end of a very neat and elegant speech, for a committee to inquire into the means of establishing a system of *national education*. This, new modelled by an amendment of Lord MORPETH, which, being remodelled by Lord ALTHORP, was finally agreed to in the following words,

"That a committee be appointed to inquire into the state of education in England and Wales, and the operation and effects of the grant that was made last session for the promotion of education and the establishment of schools; and to consider the expediency of further grants for the purpose of education."

I opposed this motion as well as the two amendments; and for reasons which have been before so fully and so often stated to my readers; and, I would suffer my limbs to be chopped off, before I would give my consent, expressly, or tacitly, for the raising of one farthing of tax upon the people for any such purpose. There is, it seems, some new scheme on foot for making this "*heddekashun*" more perfect and intellectual. Just as if intellectual enjoyment of any sort were to be derived from nothing but *books*. Just as if a ploughman, or a hedger, or a shepherd, could not *think*, with as much pleasure and delight, as a smoke-dried scribe, lodged in a garret in London! Amongst the ludicrous ideas that came out upon this occasion, was that of establishing a school for teaching the schoolmasters, just as they do the non-commissioned officers in the army, previous to setting them to teach the men! They will teach the schoolmasters morals and religion, too, I suppose, *à la Malthus*. I should not wonder to hear of the establishment of a *school for Ministers*, in which to drill them before they enter upon their offices. I am sure that there is more need of this sort of school than of the other. And who are to be the teachers of the schoolmasters? I should like to see assembled together, six or

seven thousand young fellows, who have sucked in the rudiments of conceit and laziness, and an equal number of women; to the former of whom the intended bastardy law would be extremely convenient. However, this is all a parcel of despicable nonsense, which will never end in any thing practical; and which, amongst all the other projects of "*improvement*," will be swept away like dust before the storm, in the development of the great events which are now proceeding on to produce their actual effects upon the nation. It is quite surprising that a Parliament, and men calling themselves Ministers of State, can suffer their time to be occupied in discussions about such trash, when they see danger to the state itself, staring them in the face from every quarter.

I could not help observing on one part of the speech of Mr. ROXBUCK. He said (and I am sure he believes it to be true), that the peasantry, as he called them; that is to say, the working country-people of England, are in the most deplorable state of darkness and ignorance; that they are a set of creatures woe-begone and miserable; and that they are deplorably unhappy for the want of book-knowledge to exercise their minds and give them pleasant thoughts. I wish he would not make himself unhappy about them. They are just, taking them as a body, the reverse of all this. Let him go on a Sunday, when they are not scattered about at work, to any village thirty miles from London. He will find them all, with the exception of a very few indeed, in their clean clothes, and all the younger part of them, either strolling about in pairs, or playing at cricket, except at the time for going to the church or meeting-house; and he will see no miserable creature amongst them; he will see no unhappy person, except in case of some calamity which is purely accidental. They have thoughts of their own; their thoughts turn on things under their eyes, and in which they have an interest; and they have full employment for their thoughts, too. In large towns the case is different. The study

of books is compatible with weaving and divers other arts; and they may tend, in many cases, to keep men from scenes of intoxication. But, in the country, no such thing is wanted; and while there will be geniuses in plenty spring up from amongst these country people, the desirable thing is, that nothing should be put in their way, for them to prefer to work in the fields. When parents can afford to put a boy to school, and to provide the means of making him something other than a labouring man, then the school is good; but my objection to this general schooling is, that it shuts up little boys in a room, and teaches them laziness; which never quits them till the day of their death. I take it to be incontrovertibly true, that no boy who, after the age of six or seven, has been a year or two at school, will ever take cordially and kindly to work; and nobody knows the happiness enjoyed by those who go cheerfully to their labour in the fields, except those who perform that cheerful labour. The man who comes home, too tired to pull off his clothes, and who wakes in the the morning laughing to find himself with his clothes on, is a ten thousand times happier man, than he who lies awake in his bed, however easy his life, and however plenteous his board.

Now, I am sure that Mr. ROEBUCK knows nothing of the state of the country people; or he would see the impracticability of making an addition to their happiness by what he calls education. All that they want at this time is, a greater quantity of employment than is generally to be found; and as schoolmasters and schoolmistresses cannot give them employment, no good can come of schooling, but a great deal of mischief may come from it.

Then, as to the political effects of such a system; they are like those of the poor-law scheme, and every other scheme of this GREY administration; namely, the bringing of every thing to centre in the Government at London; and there must be a central commission for the schools as well as for the poor, who would have its spy in every village under the name of schoolmaster, and

this spy would correspond with the Board in London. However, there can be nothing of this sort, without the parsons having a hand in it; so that this scheme will be going on, and the scheme for pulling down the church at the same time; and, if the Parliament should grant money to set this scheme afloat, it would only tend to thicken the mess of confusion, all the elements of which seem now to be working together.

TO

MR. STANLEY.

*Bolt-court, 4. June, 1834.*

SIR, — The first speech that you made in Parliament was upon a motion of Mr. HUME, the object of which motion was to take away and to apply to secular purposes, a part of the revenues of the church of Ireland. You then said that Parliament had no right to do such a thing, and that the revenues of the church were as sacred, as completely confined to the possession of the church and clergy, as any man's private property was confined to him, and was beyond the reach of legislative power. I, at that time, answered your speech, and contended for the contrary.

On Monday, the 2. instant, I heard you, in your place in Parliament, repeat your doctrine above-mentioned, and defend your seceding from your colleagues on the ground, that they were ready to yield to a vote of the House of Commons, if, by that vote, it should be determined to take away from the church a part of its revenues, and to apply it to purposes not connected with the church. Upon this occasion you said:

That the Parliament was perfectly competent to make regulations, relative to the distribution of church-property amongst the clergy; but that it was not competent; that is to say, that it had no rightful power to take away from the clergy of the church, any part of the revenues which they now enjoyed, and to appropriate those



revenues so taken away to any other than church purposes.

That this was an opinion that you had always held; that it was an opinion from which you would never depart; and that you believed, that the contrary principle was one that the people of England would never assent to; that no Parliament would ever sanction; and that no King would ever ratify.

That, if the principle were adopted by the House, that the House could rightfully take away and alienate for ever, any part of the revenues of the church, that principle would equally well apply itself to private property of every description, and that then there would remain nothing in the kingdom worthy of the name of property.

Now, sir, while I, in common with every other gentleman that heard you, greatly admire the frank, the bold, and decided manner, in which you expressed your opinions and determination upon this subject, I think it my duty to inform my readers, through this channel, that you are wrong in your doctrine; and that, instead of the adhering to your doctrine having a tendency to preserve property in the hands of those who now have it, that very doctrine, if it were sound, would expose a very large part of the landed property of this kingdom to be taken away from individuals by the Parliament, and applied to the uses of the people.

You will agree with me, sir, I am sure, that this present Parliament has the same supreme power that has been possessed by former Parliaments; that this Parliament is not inferior in rightful authority, to the Parliaments who sat in the reigns of the Tudors. Well, then, sir, if your doctrine be sound, what becomes of any man's title to *lay-tithes*, either in Ireland or in England? An act which it was not competent to a Parliament to pass; an act which a Parliament had no rightful authority to pass; such an act, according to Sir EDWARD COKE, as well as according to reason, was not law: it was an act of

violence, of rapine, of plunder, of tyranny.

Now, then, you must know as well as I do, that all the tithes in England and Ireland, which are at present *lay-property*, were *church-property* previous to the twenty-seventh year of HENRY the Eighth: and that, up to that time, the law held it to be sacrilege for any lay person even to pretend to have a right in such tithes. These tithes became the property of the predecessors of the present possessors, in virtue of acts of Parliament, and of acts of Parliament alone; and, sir, if at least, one half of the whole of the tithes could be taken away from the church for ever, by act of Parliament, and be given, or sold, to laymen, and the proceeds applied according to the will of the state: if this could be done by a Parliament; a Parliament, whose acts bind us to this day in various matters; if this could be done by that Parliament, and, indeed, the like done by four or five Parliaments one after another; and by twenty Parliaments in the reigns of EDWARD the Sixth and ELIZABETH; if this could be done by those Parliaments, and *rightfully done*, observe; if this could be done by those Parliaments, how comes this present Parliament not to have the rightful power to take away, in like manner, part of the remaining revenues of the church? Will you say, that those Parliaments had no rightful power to take away the tithes from the church, and to apply them to secular uses? Will you say that those Parliaments were wrong doers; that they were guilty of rapine and tyranny? No; you will not say that; because, if you do, every lay-tithe owner is destitute of a title to his property. The *time* is, indeed, far distant; but you are not unaware of the legal maxim, which is generally given to us by lawyers in Latin, which tells us, that, "*no time works injury to the claims of the church.*" This we know from every day's experience in our courts of law, so that the lapse of time is nothing in this case; and, if those Parliaments had not the rightful power to take away the tithes and apply them to secular

purposes, the present owners of the tithes have no legal claim to them, no *property* in them; and they can be rightfully resumed by the representatives of the people and the two other branches of the legislature at any time that they shall choose. And, as your doctrine applies equally well to the *real* property of the church which was taken away by those Parliaments; this doctrine, which you hold to be so necessary to the security of property, really puts in jeopardy a full-third part of the landed property of the whole kingdom.

But in this case of Ireland, there may be a taking away of benefices from the incumbents; and you may tell me, that the Parliaments of the Tudors *never took away benefices at all*. So that, though there are acts of Parliament for taking away tithes and real property from the church, there is no act of Parliament for taking away benefices. Mr. LEFROY, the honourable and learned member for the University of DUBLIN, for the second time in my hearing, challenged us to produce any act of Parliament for taking away the benefices from the Catholics and giving them to the Protestants; he said, that the priests were converted to Protestantism, and remained in their benefices; or, at any rate, there was no act of Parliament for taking benefices away; and that the present parsons held their benefices by the same right that they were held by the Catholics, needing no act of Parliament to sanction that right.

Sir ROBERT PEEL'S ingenuity amused me exceedingly. He also said (and to my surprise, I heard him say it), that the revenues of the church, or, at least, of the parochial clergy, had never been touched at the Reformation; that, in fact, it was merely a reform of the Catholic religion; and that we of the present day were no other than "*reformed Catholics*," and our church was a "*reformed Catholic church*." The right honourable baronet perceived the danger of allowing that the benefices had ever been *taken away and transferred by act of Parliament*: he saw the danger of this; because that which had been done by one Parliament might be

done by another; and, therefore, he sought for a *prescriptive* right; a right of prescription; that is to say, a right older than any written law. To get up this right, he hooked us on to the Catholic church.

But, besides that the church calls itself a church established *by LAW*, in contradistinction from a church standing on prescription; besides this, there is the act of Parliament which made this church, being 2. and 3. of EDWARD the Sixth, chapter I. That act made the Common Prayer Book, set aside the rites and ceremonies of the Catholic religion, and *took away, and gave to the King*, the benefices; that is to say, the parsonages, the glebes, and the tithes, of those incumbents who would not apostatize from the ancient religion, and practise the new religion!

So that we have acts of Parliament to refer to, affording the most ample precedents for taking away from the clergy and the church, for ever, every species of its property. In the reign of ELIZABETH things of the same sort were several times done. Charteries, guilds, alms, hospitals, stipends for saying mass; things of all sorts belonging to the church, were taken by the Parliaments, and taken away for ever. And wherever that property consists of tithes, or of real property, it is now held by virtue of those acts of Parliament; and, if those acts of Parliament were acts of rapine, it is wrongfully held; and, as no time works against the claims of the church, it might be all rightfully resumed by this nation, and it would be the duty of this Parliament to resume it.

Let us suppose me, for instance, the occupier of a farm, the tithes of which are owned by a layman. Suppose me to refuse the payment of the tithes, alleging, as I reasonably might, the unnatural command which enjoined on me to give that to a layman which was set apart for the teachers of religion. Suppose the plaintiff to carry the affair into court; suppose me to have the means and the obstinacy to put him to the proof of his title; he must, in that case, go back to the grant from the crown in the reign of one of the Tu-



DORS; and, finally, he must produce the *act of Parliament* warranting that grant. Taking up your doctrine, I might call this an act of rapine; but the court would tell me that it was *very good law*. That being the case; that act of Parliament *being in force now*; and that, and similar acts, being the only title that exists to one-third part of the landed property of England, no man will contend that the present Parliament has not the rightful power of taking from the church any part of the property, or all the property, which is now in its possession.

I cannot conclude this letter without observing, that, though here was ground for separation from your colleagues, every body believes, and I believe, that it was not the only ground. Those "*difficulties*," of which Lord GREY speaks, and which had been created by a brain that never can be at rest, while there is one foolish thing yet unattempted on the face of the earth; those difficulties were too numerous, too great, and promised too plentiful a harvest of humiliation, to be encountered by you and Sir JAMES GRAHAM, who had the sense to view them in their true light. The *negro-reform*, undertaken at the suggestion of FOWELL BUXTON's two hundred and eighty thousand "*females*," who sent a petition so big that it could hardly be got into the House, and one half of whom did not know how to wash a dish or darn a stocking; the *corporation-reform* project, talked of eternally, and then ending in a sort of smouldering smoke; the *church reform* and the *negotiations* with Dissenters, of forty descriptions; the new Banking and new India projects; the projects for "*heddekashun*"; and all the while nothing finished, and not one single step taken to relieve, or to give one single jot of satisfaction to the people. If I had found myself involved in such a mess, I should have started off from it, with as much alacrity as a sheep starts out from amongst brambles that are scratching its legs and tearing the wool from its back. The thing was all in a complete muddle of absurdity; of im-

practicable schemes; and, therefore, it was impossible that men of sense could contentedly remain in it.

But, of all the mad projects, the poor-law affair was the maddest and most troublesome. This scheme, which we trace back to its origin at once, is quite enough of itself to give employment to the Ministry and the Parliament for whole years; and, as if all these were not enough, out pop upon us, all at once and without any notice, a brace of bills; real bills cut and dry, for reforming the established church, at a moment when the Dissenters and a large part of the church-people are calling for the suppression of this church; and there are the Ministry at work in one direction, while their most firm supporters push them on to work in another. The *Morning Chronicle* tells us that you have excluded yourself from power for ever. I would rather have excluded myself from life than I would have remained to be an instrument for the carrying on of the projects everlastingly pouring forth from the endless resources of this fertile and restless brain.

I, at any rate, am satisfied that the church of Ireland affair was not the sole cause of you and the other seceders quitting the Ministry; and this is a very important matter for the nation to understand. At any rate, I wish to impress the truth upon the minds of my readers. The *Morning Chronicle* has had the baseness to impute to you, as a motive for your secession, that you are the *heir to church patronage worth fifteen thousand pounds a year*. Leaving character out of the question; leaving out of the question all the views so natural to you at this time of laudable ambition; supposing you to have a soul like that of a loanmonger, devoted solely to Mammon, what is the sum of fifteen thousand pounds a year, in reversion, too; and it is only the right of giving away sixteen thousand pounds a year; what can this be in your estimation, when put in comparison with the security of those possessions, which would come to you in consequence of the same events which would give you

this church patronage? This is as base an imputation as ever was preferred against any man living; but it is a fair specimen of what every one has to expect, who thwarts, or attempts to thwart, the miserable, mean, trimming, time-serving, band of creatures, of which this *Chronicle* is the mouth-piece. You would not consent any longer to be an instrument in the pushing on of the ridiculous and mischievous projects, issuing from the ever-bubbling brain to which I have so often alluded; and for this, you are to be banished from power for ever, and to be charged with a motive that never would have come into the head of any one, but a wretch, capable of robbing a workhouse child of its breakfast. My charge against you, and those that have seceded along with you, is, that you continued so long to give your countenance to these projectors, and to their shuffling backward and forward; and for this you have in a great measure atoned by your separation from them, and by your frank avowals and declarations of Tuesday night.

I am, Sir,  
your most obedient  
and most humble servant,  
WM. COBBETT.

---

*Extract of a letter to Lord Grey, from the Newcastle Press, relative to the claims of the Dissenters.*

This excellently well-written letter is worthy of particular attention. I need say no more than just these few words, to induce my readers to attend to it.

As a dissuasive to the Dissenters not to pursue their present honest, manly, principled, and straightforward course, Lord Durham, at a meeting, which was held lately at the City of London Tavern, observed that they would not find one peer in the House of Lords to vote for a separation of the church from the state. The noble Lord spoke from a knowledge of their lordships, and has drawn in that sentence the character of

the aristocracy with a singular fidelity and correctness of pencil. That aristocracy would sacrifice the rights, liberties, property, and life of all the people to the preservation of their own sordid interests. Not one peer! No, not one i'faith. Why the whole revenues of the church, which were formerly the patrimony, the inheritance of the poor, now really belong to them. It is a rich pasturage and provision, a land flowing with milk and honey, for all the branches of their families that are unprovided for, and for their dependents, and the dependents of the Ministry. Not one peer! most religious, most pious, most disinterested peers! They have reasons, far more powerful than any that logic, philosophy, or religion either can supply, for their devout attachment to the church, the inviolability of all whose property and possession, which they esteem far more than they do its dogmas and its faith, they would maintain with the same eagerness with which they would maintain the inviolability of their own estates, or their own order, by which you so nobly and loudly expressed your determination to stand.

Now, my lord, while the church *enriches* the ARISTOCRACY, it *impoverishes* THE PEOPLE. Hence, the support of the church by the former; hence, the opposition to the church by the latter. Formerly the church gathered the poor, as a hen gathereth her chickens, under its wings, and cherished, nourished, and protected them, and from its charity and loving-kindness was derived to it the affectionate attachment of the people. It has rejected the people, and now supports the aristocracy, and plunders and pillages the poor, as Jeremiah Dodsworth, and the thirteen labourers in husbandry belonging to the parish of Lockington, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, can testify. Though then the church may be a good thing, a goose with golden eggs for the aristocracy, it is a bad thing for the people. To the one it is a fountain of perennial wealth, to the other a source of perennial oppression. Their determination, and your determination, my lord, to maintain that church, is nothing more than



a determination, unblushingly and audaciously avowed, to maintain an establishment beneficial only to yourselves, at the expense of the rights, interests, and liberties of the people. It can only be supported by a course of terror, by the bayonet and the sabre, and by a system of the most unrelenting cruelty and oppression. What a blasphemy it is, to call an institution so supported, the church of Christ. Such a church is a thing sprung from night and hell, and not an emanation from heaven, from which nothing comes but what is benevolent, merciful, and just.

The partisans of the church have been deep and cunning enough to represent the demand which is arising, with portentous sound, in every portion of these islands, for the separation, for the breaking down of the unholy alliance, of church and state, as an infidel and irreligious cry, resulting from a desire to put down all religion (still harping upon *religion*, when *revenues* and *riches* are all that is thought about), and to eradicate Christianity from these islands. Your lordship, let hypocrites and deceivers say what they will, well knows that this is not an infidel and irreligious cry. Your lordship knows that it proceeds from men as religious and faithful as any that are to be found within the pale of the establishment, men as deeply devoted and as zealously attached to the religion of Christ, and as firm believers in its truth, as either the Archbishop of Canterbury or your lordship, or even as your lordship's colleague, the humorous and satirical Chancellor, upon whose cheeks there hang not

“Quips, and cranks, and wanton wiles,  
Nods, and becks, and wreathed smiles,”

but upon whose lips sat jeering irony and bitter sarcasm, a man

“Replete with mocks,  
Full of comparisons and wounding flouts;  
Which he on all estates will execute  
That lie within the mercy of his wit;”

ay, even as this mocking, jeering, and satirical lord, whose long connexion with the Unitarian body throughout the kingdom, had laid his orthodoxy

somewhat under suspicion, and some of whose speeches, as well as writings, had led many to suppose that he even was an enemy of Christianity. The noble Lord is beginning, however, with all the flaming zeal of a convert, to wipe away the reproach of infidelity that had attached itself to his character, and he is now exhibiting the utmost ardour in support and defence of a church, which, and the ministers of which have long been the butts of his unsparing sarcasm. The infidels are not prominent in demanding a separation of church and state. It is the Dissenters who are protesting against the church; it is the Protestants of the Protestant religion, who are, with the zeal, the activity, the energy, of the puritans of old, with singleness of heart and sincerity of purpose raising the cry and agitating this question. Infidels! Who are the men that formed the deputations that have waited on your lordship, on Lord Althorp, and on the Chancellor? Assuredly, my lord, they were not infidels. They were true-hearted Dissenters, men who are ardent and sincere in the profession of their religious principles, and who profess Christianity not for the purpose of lucre, but as a duty, and for the private consolation of their own consciences. They are men endued with the spirit of religious enthusiasm and with the fortitude of martyrs; and who, as your lordship will find, if you persist in resisting their wishes, will not shrink from, but even rejoice to obtain in pursuit of their object, which is undoubtedly just, the crown of martyrdom. Your frowns they smile at, your threats they scorn, your resolutions they will trample under foot. Opposition will but make them more resolute and daring; and menaces and defiance will be but as a bellows to the furnace of their zeal.

Yes, my Lord, they are Protestants, and Protestants of that kind too, which, to use the language of Burke, is the most adverse to all implicit submission of mind and opinion. They are of a persuasion not only favourable to liberty, but built upon it. They are adverse to every thing that looks like

absolute government. The church of England was formed from her cradle under the nursing care of regular government. But the religion of these men has sprung up in direct opposition to the ordinary powers of the world; and they justify that opposition by the strength of their claim to natural liberty. Their existence depends on the zealous and unremitting assertion of this claim. All protestantism, even the most cold and passive, is a sort of dissent. But the religion of these men is a refinement on the principle of resistance; it is the diffidence of dissent, and the protestantism of the Protestant religion. Though they vary in their forms and creeds, and subsist under a variety of denominations, they all agree in the communion of the spirit of liberty, and they will never submit to the arrogant domination and unprincipled plunder of a church, established on the same principle of dissent on which they are founded themselves. It is then with men of this description, sincere, active, zealous, and resolute, who would brave as PRYNNÉ did, the pillory and the dungeon, and would laugh as he did at fine and forfeiture, and even the cropping of ears, that your lordship and your lordship's order has to deal with. They are not to be diverted from their purpose by either fawning or frowning, by compliments or threatenings. They must have what they want, and till they obtain that, their exertions will be unremitting, their desires unappeasable.

What then is it that they want? What do they mean by the separation of the church from the state? They mean the resumption by the Government of all the property of the church, the application of it to national purposes, to the relief of the people from debt and taxes, and the reduction of the church of England, from its present state of gorgeousness, splendour, wealth, and dominion, to the condition of a church supported by the private contributions of those who believe in its doctrines. Where, I ask, my lord, is the unreasonableness of this demand? Wherefore, in the name of justice and

common sense, should men who conscientiously dissent from the doctrines of a church, founded by men and established, not by divine command, but by legislative enactment; wherefore, I demand, should they, who have as much right to dissent from its doctrines as its founders had to dissent from the doctrines of the Catholic church, be compelled to build and repair its churches, and to pay tithes and oblations to its ministers? Such compulsion is rank tyranny in any church, but tyranny of a peculiarly hateful description in a church, which is founded upon a resistance to authority and the right of private judgment. But your lordship believes the church of England to be the true church. Admitting it, what right has your lordship to compel your convictions upon the belief of others? Support, my lord, out of your own funds the church in which you believe, contribute largely out of your own revenues to it, pay tithes and oblations to its ministers, but do not compel me or Dissenters, who, in our consciences do not believe it to be true, to labour for its maintenance. It is unjust to plunder us for its support, because your lordship, or because that great theologian, the Duke of Wellington, believes it to be true. Neither of you being infallible, dukes and earls though you be, your opinion may happen to be erroneous.

But we are told it is the duty of a state to support a religion. It cannot be the duty of any state to support at the public expense, a religion which is false. And which among the multitude of religions that exist, is the *true one*? This is a problem, which it is not given to King or Parliaments to resolve, and could they even discover which was the true one, they have no commission from heaven (they have no right to assume one themselves) to compel any man either to believe or support it. The Divine Author of Christianity, offering no violence to the free-will of men, made his religion a religion of freedom, and offered it for the acceptance of both Jews and Gentiles, without compelling the assent of either.



What right have you or the peers, and commoners, and King of England, to pursue a course, different from that which was pursued by the Redeemer of the world, who certainly understood the spirit of the religion which he taught better than your presumptuous lordship, or the arrogant peers of England. If he, who was Lord of heaven and earth, your master, and your master's master, the Son of the eternal God, did not compel, though he was the sovereign master of all nature, any to the adoption and support of the religion which he taught, what right hast thou, a worm of this earth, proud man, that art dressed in a little brief authority, what right hast thou, insolent Minister of a King, to extend thy right of dominion from my body to my mind, to oppress my conscience, to tyrannize over a will made by the hands of the same Creator, as free as thine, and compel me to the support of any form of Christianity? You that prate about Christianity are ignorant of its spirit. Christ could have called down fire from heaven, and had legions of angels at his command, if he had wished to propagate by force and tyranny his religion, and vanquish and subdue the world to its profession. That power, that force, which he would not use, he never authorized Kings or the Ministers of Kings to use. Kings and Ministers have nothing to do with religion. It is their business to extend prediction, equal protection to all men, and leave religion to itself. He that hath said, the gates of hell shall never prevail against his church, is able to fulfil his promise, and accomplish his prediction, without being encumbered with the political help of Lord Grey, or of any Minister of any King. We want, my lord, no *ministre de cultes* in this kingdom.

But the space I have already occupied admonishes me, that I must condense as much as possible my remaining observations. I object to the existence of a state religion, because it is inconsistent with liberty of conscience. It is not only an infringement of liberty of conscience, but an infraction of the great and fundamental principles of

justice, and a violation of the natural liberty of man, to compel me to support a creed in which I do not believe. It is not only such an infringement, such an infraction, such a violation, but it is contrary to the very principle of Protestantism; which is a system of falsehood and of fraud, if it be not the promulgation to all men of a liberty to think what they please, and to speak what they think. To confer upon me the liberty of adopting what opinions I please, and at the same time to force me to pay for the propagation of a particular creed of human invention, which I do not believe, is not only a monstrous inconsistency but a prodigy of tyranny.

The existence of such a church is incompatible with the existence of public liberty. The union in one person of temporal and spiritual authority, and political and ecclesiastical supremacy, cannot but be dangerous to public liberty. The moment the King was made head of the church, it was degraded from a state of freedom and independence to a condition of political servitude. When the King is the source and fountain of all honour, civil and ecclesiastical, and the creator both of the spiritual and temporal peers, they both, but particularly the former as being more entirely dependent on him, must be slaves. It is not possible that public liberty should not suffer, when the appointment of all the bishops rests with the crown, that is with the Minister of the day. Formerly the election of bishops was entirely independent of the crown, as it now is with the Catholic prelates of Ireland. Kings did all they could to enslave the church, to influence the elections, and have all its immense riches and patronage placed at their disposal, and within the grasp of royal rapacity. But this was resisted, and stoutly resisted in some instances even to the death, by the clergy, who were then a corporation emanating from and acting in behalf of the people, controlling the tyranny of the nobles, and checking the despotism of the King. Bishops then, instead of being the slaves of Kings, the creatures of a Minister, or the parasites of the court,

were the demagogues at the tribunes of the people. Anselm and Thomas Becket, Archbishops of Canterbury, says Lord Bacon, with their crosiers did almost try it with the King's sword; and yet they had to heal with stout and haughty kings, William Rufus, Henry the First, and Henry the Second. It was Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, not one of your degenerate and king-made bishops, that headed the barons of England in wresting MAGNA CHARTA from King John. Aye, my lord, the very first article of that charter is, that the CHURCH SHALL BE FREE, independent of royal and ministerial influence; unencumbered with royal or ministerial patronage, SEPARATE FROM THE STATE. It especially provides for the freedom of episcopal elections. The form and mockery of election, a relic of ancient canonical freedom and independence, still survives to remind the church of its present servitude and degradation, but it is nothing more than a lifeless form and unreal mockery. The appointment is in the crown. The clergy, the reverend slaves of state, have a royal *cong   d'elire*, whomsoever the minister of the day chooses to appoint. Such is the miserable and degraded condition in which the church drags on its existence! Beside the appointment of bishops, what an immense patronage of livings is possessed by the Government. There are upwards of a thousand livings in the gift of the crown. How dependent on the crown, and how hostile to the people, a church of this description must be! Anciently then the church was not a state establishment, but an institution rising up among and springing from the people, unconnected with and independent of the state. All the influence that was exerted over it by the king or his ministers, was a tyrannical and unconstitutional influence, in opposition to the canons, and in direct violation of the first article of Magna Charta. It was not until the reign of Henry VIII. that the degradation of the church was effected, that it was subjected and conquered, after centuries of resistance, into a dependence on, into a slavery to Government, and that it came forth

anew from the royal manufactory, deformed and transformed into a state religion. The connexion then that now exists between the church and state is uncanonical, contrary to Magna Charta, opposed to the spirit of the British constitution, and altogether incompatible with the existence of public liberty.

On these grounds then we call for its disconnexion from the state. But there remains another ground why all the possessions of the church should be confiscated to public uses. Originally all the property which it possesses, belonged to the poor, as well as the church and its ministers. From all purposes of charity and religion, it has been alienated contrary to law, to the sole support of the clergy and their families, and to the support of lay and clerical impropiators, and appropriators and their families. In fact the aristocracy and the clergy have impropiated and appropriated it all to their own use, and left the support of the poor, and the erection and repairs of the churches, &c., to the people. Now this I contend they have done contrary to law, and as the sums which since the Reformation have been unjustly exacted from the people for these purposes for poor-rates and church-rates, have been more than amply sufficient to purchase all the estates of the church, they have become the property of the public by purchase, for all these sums have been taken from them in default of the application of those revenues, with which they were endowed by the public, to their rightful, legal, and stipulated purpose. The church has therefore, forfeited its property by having been false to its trust. In addition to this, the enormous debt under which we are labouring, and for the interest of which we have to pay 30,000,000*l.* a year in taxes, was incurred principally for its support. The preservation of the church and the "blessed comforts of our holy religion," was the great ground and pretence on which it was borrowed, or at least on which the wars, which rendered the borrowing necessary, were justified. When we recollect that we have a debt of 800,000,000*l.*, and 50,000,000*l.* annual



taxes, and nearly 9,000,000*l.* annual poor-rates entailed upon us by this oppressive and injurious church establishment, the existence of which is of no earthly use to the people whatever, it is time, my lord, that we, the people, talked of obtaining some indemnity for our losses by the confiscation of its property. But there is a still greater reason than any that I have yet mentioned for the confiscation of that property. Does your lordship not know, that upon the surrender of the monasteries and priories, the abbey-lands and all the conventual property of this country, that there was an express stipulation made by the crown with the people and Parliament of England, that, provided that property were surrendered to the King, the PEOPLE OF ENGLAND NEVER SHOULD BE TAXED AGAIN? I state this fact upon the authority of Sir E. Coke, who thus speaks of that stipulation in the fourth book of his Institutes, page 44.

"When any plausible project is made in Parliament to draw the Lords or Commons to any act (especially in matters of weight and importance) if both Houses do give upon the matter projected and premised their consent, it shall be most necessary (they being trusted for the commonwealth) to have the matter projected and premised (which moved the Houses to consent) to be established in the same act, lest the benefit of the act be taken, and the matter projected and premised, never performed. And so the Houses of Parliament perform not the trust reposed in them. As it fell out, taking one example for many in the reign of Henry 8:—On the King's behalf, the members of both Houses were informed in Parliament, that no king or kingdom was safe, but where the King had these abilities:—First, to live on his own, and able to defend his kingdom upon any sudden invasion or insurrection. 2. To aid his confederates, otherwise they would never assist him. 3. To reward his well-deserving servants, now the project was that if the Parliament would give unto him all the abbeyes, priories, friaries, nunneries, and other monas-

teries, that for ever in time then to come, he would take order that the same should not be converted to private use, but first, that his exchequer for the purposes aforesaid, should be enriched. Secondly, the kingdom strengthened by a continual maintenance of forty thousand well-trained soldiers, with skilful captains and commanders. Thirdly, for the benefit and ease of the subject, who never afterwards as was projected in any time to come, should be charged with subsidies, fifteenths, loans, or other aids. Fourthly, lest the realm should receive diminution of honour by the dissolution of the said monasteries, there being 29 lords of Parliament of the abbots and priors, that held of the king per baroniam, whereof more in the next (leafe) that the king would create a number of nobles which we omit. The said monasteries were given to the king by authority of divers acts of Parliament, but no provision was therein made for the said project, or any part thereof only *ad faciend populum* these possessions were given to the king, his heirs, and successors, to do and use therewith, his and their own wills to the pleasure of Almighty God, and the honour and profit of the realme.—Now observe the catastrophe. In the same Parliament of 32 Henry 8, when the great and opulent priory of St. John's of Jerusalem was given to the king, he demanded, and had a subsidy both of the clergy and laity and the like, he had in 34 Henry 8, and in 37 Henry 8, he had another subsidy. And since the dissolution of the said monasteries, he enacted divers loans, and against law received the same."

Now, my lord, notwithstanding this solemn pledge of the word of a king, which should be the sacredest thing and the most inviolable on earth, that upon the surrender of this property he would never call for *LOANS, SUBSIDIES OR TAXES* again, the people of this country have been taxed to a more grievous extent than they were ever taxed before. Those abbey lands, that conventual property, are now in the hands of the clergy and the aristocracy. As an indemnifi-

cation then to the people, with whom the royal pledge and word has been broken most shamefully, for the millions upon millions that they have been plundered of, for the support of this law-established and state church, we call upon the Parliament and the King to resume all the ecclesiastical property of this kingdom, and to apply it to those great national and public uses for the relief of the people, which to their wisdom shall seem fit.

I am, my Lord,  
Your Lordship's obedient servant,  
CHARLES LARKIN.

(From the *Mercantile Advertiser and New York Advocate*.)

### PROTEST

(Concluded from p. 569.)

On the 2. of January, 1834, the Senate and House of Representatives composing the legislature of Ohio, passed a preamble and resolutions in the following words:

"Whereas there is reason to believe, that the Bank of the United States will attempt to obtain a renewal of its charter at the present session of Congress. And whereas, it is abundantly evident, that that said Bank has exercised powers derogatory to the spirit of our free institutions, and dangerous to the liberties of these United States: And whereas, there is just reason to doubt the constitutional power of Congress to grant acts of incorporation for banking purposes out of the district of Columbia: And whereas, we believe the proper disposal of the public lands, to be of the utmost importance to the people of these United States, and that honour and good faith require their equitable distribution: Therefore

"Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, That we consider the removal of the public deposits from the Bank of the United States, as required by the best interests of our country, and that a proper sense of public duty imperiously demanded that that institution should be no longer used as a depository of the public funds.

"Resolved, also, That we view with decided disapprobation, the renewed attempts in Congress to secure the passage of the bill providing for the disposal of the public domain upon the principles proposed by Mr. Clay, inasmuch as we believe that such a law would be unequal in its operations, and unjust in its results.

"Resolved, also, That we heartily approve of the principles set forth in the late veto message upon that subject, and,

"Resolved, That our senators in Congress be instructed, and our representatives requested, to use their influence to prevent the rechartering the Bank of the United States; to sustain the administration in its removal of the public deposits, and to oppose the passage of a land bill containing the principles adopted in the act upon that subject, passed at the last session of Congress.

"Resolved, That the governor be requested to transmit copies of the foregoing preamble and resolutions to each of our senators and representatives."

It is thus seen that four senators have declared by their votes that the President, in the late executive proceedings in relation to the revenue, had been guilty of the impeachable offence of "assuming upon himself authority and power not conferred by the constitution and laws, but in derogation of both," whilst the legislatures of their respective States had deliberately approved those very proceedings, as consistent with the constitution, and demanded by the public good. If these four voters had been given in accordance with the sentiment of the legislators, as above expressed, there would have been but twenty-four votes out of forty-six for censuring the President and the unprecedented record of his conviction could not have been placed upon the journals of the Senate.

In thus referring to the resolutions and instructions of the State legislatures, I disclaim and repudiate all authority or design to interfere with the responsibility due from members of the Senate to their own consciences, their constituents, and their country. The facts now stated belong to the history of these proceedings, and are important to the just development of the principles and interests involved in them, as well as to the proper vindication of the executive department; and with that view and that view only, are they here made the topic of remark.

The dangerous tendency of the doctrine which denies to the President the power of supervising, directing, and removing the Secretary of the Treasury, in like manner with the other executive officers, would soon be manifest in practice, were the doctrine to be established. The President is the direct representative of the American people, but the Secretaries are not. If the Secretary of the Treasury be independent of the President in the execution of the laws, then is there no direct responsibility to the people in that important branch of this Government, to which is committed the care of the national finances. And it is in the power of the Bank of the United States, or any other corporation, body of men, or individuals, if a secretary shall be found to accord with them in opinion, or can be induced in practice to promote their views, to control, through him, the whole action of the Government (so far as it is exercised by his department), in defiance of the chief magistrate elected by the people and responsible to them.



But the evil tendency of the particular doctrine adverted to, though sufficiently serious, would be as nothing in comparison with the pernicious consequences which would inevitably flow from the approbation and allowance by the people, and the practice by the Senate of the unconstitutional power of arraiguing and censuring the official conduct of the executive, in the manner recently pursued. Such proceedings are eminently calculated to unsettle the foundations of the Government; to disturb the harmonious action of its different departments; and to break down the checks and balances by which the wisdom of its framers sought to ensure its stability and usefulness.

The honest differences of opinion which occasionally exist between the Senate and the President, in regard to matters in which both are obliged to participate, are sufficiently embarrassing. But if the course recently adopted by the Senate shall hereafter be frequently pursued, it is not only obvious that the harmony of the relations between the President and the Senate will be destroyed, but that other and graver effects will ultimately ensue. If the censures of the Senate be submitted to by the President, the confidence of the people in his ability and virtue, and the character and usefulness of his administration, will soon be at an end, and the real power of the Government will fall into the hands of a body, holding their offices for long terms, not elected by the people, and not to them directly responsible. If, on the other hand, the illegal censures of the Senate should be resisted by the President, collisions and angry controversies might ensue, discreditable in their progress, and in the end compelling the people to adopt the conclusion, either that their chief magistrate was unworthy of their respect, or that the Senate was chargeable with calumny and injustice. Either of these results would impair public confidence in the perfection of the system, and lead to serious alterations of its frame work, or to the practical abandonment of some of its provisions.

The influence of such proceedings on the other departments of the Government, and more especially on the States, could not fail to be extensively pernicious. When the judges in the last resort of official misconduct, themselves overleap the bounds of their authority, as prescribed by the constitution, what general disregard of its provisions might not their example be expected to produce? And who does not perceive that such contempt of the federal constitution, by one of its most important departments, would hold out the strongest temptation to resistance on the part of the State sovereignties, whenever they shall suppose their just rights to have been invaded? Thus all the independent departments of the Government, and the States which compose our confederated Union, instead of attending to their appropriate duties, and leaving those who may offend, to be reclaimed or punished in the manner pointed out in the constitution,

would fall to mutual crimination and recrimination, and give to the people, confusion and anarchy, instead of order and law; until at length some form of aristocratic power would be established on the ruins of the constitution, or the States be broken into separate communities.

Far be it from me to charge, or to insinuate, that the present Senate of the United States intend, in the most distant way, to encourage such a result. It is not of their motives or designs, but of the tendency of their acts, that it is my duty to speak. It is, if possible, to make senators themselves sensible of the danger which lurks under the precedent set in their resolution; and at any rate to perform my duty, as the responsible head of one of the co-equal departments of the Government, that I have been compelled to point out the consequences to which the discussion and passage of the resolution may lead, if the tendency of the measure be not checked in its inception.

It is due to the high trust with which I have been charged; to those who may be called to succeed me in it; to the representatives of the people, whose constitutional prerogative has been unlawfully assumed; to the people and to the States; and to the constitution they have established; that I should not permit its provisions to be broken down by such an attack on the executive department, without at least some effort "to preserve, protect, and defend" them. With this view, and for the reasons which have been stated, I do hereby solemnly protest against the aforementioned proceedings of the Senate, as unauthorized by the constitution; contrary to its spirit and to several of its express provisions; subversive of that distribution of the powers of Government which it has ordained and established; destructive of the checks and safeguards by which those powers were intended, on the one hand to be controlled, and on the other to be protected; and calculated by their immediate and collateral effects, by their character and tendency, to concentrate in the hands of a body not directly amenable to the people, a degree of influence and power dangerous to their liberties, and fatal to the constitution of their choice.

The resolution of the Senate contains an imputation upon my private as well as upon my public character; and as it must stand for ever on their journals, I cannot close this substitute for that defence which I have not been allowed to present in the ordinary form, without remarking, that I have lived in vain, if it be necessary to enter into a formal vindication of my character and purposes from such an imputation. In vain do I bear upon my person, enduring memorials of that contest in which American liberty was purchased; in vain have I since periled property, fame, and life, in defence of the rights and privileges so dearly bought; in vain am I now, without a personal aspiration, or the hope of individual advantage, encountering responsibilities and

dangers, from which, by mere inactivity in relation to a single point, I might have been exempt—if any serious doubts can be entertained as to the purity of my purposes and motives. If I had been ambitious, I would have sought an alliance with that powerful institution, which even now aspires to no divided empire. If I had been venal, I should have sold myself to its designs: had I preferred personal comfort and official ease to the performance of my arduous duty, I should have ceased to molest it. In the history of conquerors and usurpers, never, in the fire of youth, nor in the vigour of manhood, could I find an attraction to allure me from the path of duty; and now I shall scarcely find an inducement to commence their career of ambition, when gray hairs and a decaying frame, instead of inviting to toil and battle, call me to the contemplation of other worlds, where conquerors cease to be honoured, and usurpers expiate their crimes. The only ambition I can feel, is to acquit myself to Him to whom I must soon render an account of my stewardship, to serve my fellow-men, and live respected and honoured in the history of my country. No, the ambition which leads me on, is an anxious desire and a fixed determination, to return to the people, unimpaired, the sacred trust confided to my charge, to heal the wounds of the constitution and preserve it from further violation; to persuade my countrymen, so far as I may, that it is not in a splendid Government, supported by powerful monopolies and aristocratical establishments, that they will find happiness, or their liberties protection; but in a plain system, void of pomp, protecting all, and granting favours to none, dispensing its blessings like the dew of heaven, unseen and unfelt, save in the freshness and beauty they contribute to produce. It is such a Government that the genius of our people requires, such a one only under which our State may remain for ages to come, united, prosperous, and free. If the Almighty Being, who has hitherto sustained and protected me, will but vouchsafe to make my feeble powers instrumental to such a result, I shall anticipate with pleasure the place to be assigned me in the history of my country, and die contented with the belief, that I have contributed in some small degree, to increase the value and prolong the duration of American labour.

To the end that the resolution of the Senate may not be hereafter drawn into precedent, with the authority of silent acquiescence on the part of the executive department; and, to the end, also that my motives and views in the executive proceedings denounced in that resolution, may be known to my fellow-citizens, to the world, and to all posterity, I respectfully request that this message and protest may be entered at length on the journals of the Senate.

April 15, 1834.

ANDREW JACKSON.

## POOR-LAW PROJECT.

I WAS not able to attend in my place in Parliament last night (Wednesday), without inconvenience too great to be overcome. I am sorry that I was not present, because I should have made one in voting for Sir CHARLES BURRELL's bill; yet it must be confessed, that that bill wants a great deal more to make it what it ought to be; and that the time for passing it will be when this ridiculous and mischievous poor-law project shall have received the reprobation of the Parliament. We are to have, it seems, a new and more expeditious mode of discussing the clauses of this bill. It seems intended to force us into a gallop, to which I have no objection; but, if the breath remain in my body, and the legs will bear that body up, never shall this bill pass, without every man in England clearly understanding its objects, its tendency, and the feelings which it ought to produce in the minds of the working people.—N.B. Many of my readers are calling upon me to print the whole of this bill in the *Register*. It ought to be in the *Register*: the project ought to be recorded in this work of mine; beginning this week, I will continue week after week, till I have inserted the whole of the bill, just as it was laid on the table of the House by Lord ALTHORP.

## A BILL FOR THE AMENDMENT AND BETTER ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAWS RELATING TO THE POOR IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

[Note.—The words printed in *italics* are proposed to be inserted in the committee.]

WHEREAS it is expedient to alter and amend the laws relating to the relief of poor persons in England and Wales; be it therefore enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That it shall be lawful for his Majesty, his heirs and successors, by warrant under the royal sign manual, to appoint *three* fit persons to be commissioners to carry this act, and the powers and authorities hereinafter contained, into execution; and also from time to time, at pleasure, to remove any of the commissioners for the time being, and upon every or any vacancy in the said



number of commissioners, either by removal or by death, or otherwise, to appoint some other fit person to the said office; and until such appointment it shall be lawful for the surviving or continuing commissioners or commissioner to act as if no such vacancy had occurred.

And be it further enacted, That the said commissioners shall be styled "The Poor-Law Commissioners for England and Wales," and the said commissioners, or any two of them, may sit, from time to time as they deem expedient, as a board of commissioners for carrying this act into execution; and the said commissioners shall respectively have all the protection and indemnity to which the judges of a superior court of record are by law entitled, and shall be and are hereby empowered, by summons under their hands and seal, to require the attendance of all parties and witnesses, and such other persons as they may think fit to call before them upon any question or matter connected with or relating to the administration of the laws for the relief of the poor, and also to make any inquiries and require any answer or returns as to any such question or matter, and also to administer oaths, and examine all such parties, witnesses, and other persons upon oath, and to require and enforce the production upon oath of books, deeds, papers, accounts, and writings, or copies thereof respectively, in anywise relating to any such question or matter, as the said commissioners may deem proper; or in lieu of requiring such oath as aforesaid, the said commissioners may, if they think fit, require any such party, witness, or other person, to make and subscribe a declaration of the truth of the matters respecting which he shall have been or shall be so examined; and the said commissioners shall also have power, by warrant under their hands and seal, of committing all persons guilty of any contempt of the said commissioners sitting as a board, for any period not exceeding one calendar month, to the King's Bench Prison, or to the common gaol or house of correction of any county or place in which such offenders shall be: Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall extend or be deemed to extend to authorize or empower the said commissioners to act as a court of record, or to require the production of the title, or of any deeds, papers, or writings relating to the title of any lands, tenements, or hereditaments not being the property of any parish or union.

And be it further enacted, That the said commissioners shall cause to be made a seal of the said board, and shall cause to be sealed or stamped therewith all rules, orders, and regulations made by the said commissioners in pursuance of this act; and all such rules, orders, and regulations, or copies thereof, purporting to be sealed or stamped with the seal of the said board, shall be received as evidence of the same respectively, without any further proof thereof; and no such rule, order, or regulation, or copy thereof, shall be

valid, or have any force or effect, unless the same shall be so sealed or stamped as aforesaid.

And be it further enacted, That the said commissioners shall *once* in every year, at such time and in such form as any one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state shall direct, submit to the principal secretary of state requiring the same, a general report of their proceedings; and every such report shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament within six weeks after the receipt of the same by such principal secretary of state if Parliament be then sitting, or if Parliament be not sitting then within six weeks after the next meeting thereof.

And be it further enacted, That the said commissioners shall from time to time, at such times and in such form as any one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state shall direct, give to the principal secretary of state requiring the same such information respecting their proceedings or any part thereof as the said principal secretary of state shall require.

And be it further enacted, That the said commissioners shall and they are hereby empowered from time to time to appoint such persons as they may think fit to be assistant commissioners for carrying this act into execution, at such places and in such manner as the said commissioners may direct, and to remove such assistant commissioners, or any of them, at their discretion; and on every or any vacancy in the said office of assistant commissioner, by removal, or by death or otherwise, to appoint, if they see fit, some other person to the said office: Provided always, that it shall not be lawful for the said commissioners to appoint more than *nine* such assistant commissioners to act at any one time, unless the lord high treasurer, or the commissioners of his Majesty's treasury for the time being, or any *three* or more of them, shall consent to the appointment of a greater number.

And be it further enacted, That the said commissioners may and they are hereby empowered from time to time to appoint a secretary, assistant secretary, and all such clerks, messengers and officers as they shall deem necessary, and from time to time, at the discretion of the said commissioners, to remove such secretary, assistant secretary, clerks, messengers and officers, or any of them, and to appoint others in their stead: Provided always, That the amount of the salaries of such secretary, assistant secretary, clerks, messengers and officers shall from time to time be regulated by the lord high treasurer, the commissioners of his Majesty's treasury, or any *three* or more of them.

And be it further enacted, That every commissioner and assistant commissioner to be appointed from time to time as aforesaid shall, before he shall enter upon the execution of his office, take the following oath before one of the judges of his Majesty's courts of King's

Bench or Common Pleas, or one of the barons of the Court of Exchequer; (that is to say)

"I, A. B., do swear, That I will faithfully, impartially and honestly, according to the best of my skill and judgment, execute and fulfil all the powers and duties of a commissioner [or assistant commissioner, as the case may be,] under an act passed in the fourth year of the reign of King William the Fourth, intituled, [here set forth the title of this act.]"

And the appointment of every such commissioner and assistant commissioner, together with the time when and the judge or baron before whom he shall have taken the oath aforesaid, shall be forthwith published in the *London Gazette*; and a notification of such appointment and of the taking of such oath shall from time to time be sent, under the hands and seal of the said commissioners, to the clerk of the peace of every county in England and Wales, to be by him kept and preserved with the records of such county.

And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said commissioners to delegate to their assistant commissioners, or to any of them, such of the powers and authorities hereby given to the said commissioners (except the powers to make general rules or by laws, or to commit for contempt), as the said commissioners shall think fit; and the powers and authorities so delegated, and the delegation thereof, shall be notified in such manner, and such powers and authorities shall be exercised at such places, for such periods, and under such circumstances, and subject to such regulations as the said commissioners shall direct; and the said commissioners may at any time revoke, recall, alter or vary all or any of the powers and authorities which shall be so delegated as aforesaid, and, notwithstanding the delegation thereof, may act as if no such delegation had been made; and the said assistant commissioners may and are hereby empowered to summon before them such persons as they may think necessary for the purpose of being examined upon oath upon any question or matter relating to the poor or their relief, or for the purpose of producing and verifying upon oath any books, deeds, papers, accounts and writings, or copies of the same, in anywise relating to such question or matter, and not relating to or involving any question of title to any lands, tenements or hereditaments not being the property of any parish or union, as such assistant commissioners may think fit, and which oath the said assistant commissioners are hereby empowered to administer: Provided nevertheless, that in lieu of requiring such oath as aforesaid the said assistant commissioners may, if they think fit, require such person to make and subscribe a declaration of the truth of the matters respecting which he shall have been or shall be so examined; and all summonses and orders made by any such assistant commissioner in pursuance or exercise of such delegated powers and authorities shall be obeyed, performed

and carried into effect by all persons as if such summonses or order had been the summonses or order of the said commissioners; and the breach, non-observance, or non performance thereof shall be punishable in like manner.

And be it further enacted, That every commissioner and assistant commissioner shall, by virtue of his respective office, and without any commission or oath other than the oath hereinbefore directed to be taken by every commissioner or assistant commissioner, and whether qualified by estate or not, be and be entitled to exercise all the powers and functions of a justice of the peace in all counties, liberties, precincts, and places in England and Wales, in all matters relating to the administration of the laws for the relief of the poor, or the execution of this act; and all summonses or warrants of every such commissioner or assistant commissioner, as such justice, shall run into and be obeyed and executed in all counties, liberties, precincts, and places in England and Wales: and the said commissioners and assistant commissioners, and all persons acting in execution of or in obedience to such summonses and warrants respectively, shall respectively be entitled to all the protection and advantages given by law to justices of the peace, and to officers and others acting in execution of or in obedience to the summonses and warrants or under the authority of such justices: Provided always, That no commissioner or assistant commissioner shall act as a justice of the peace in the enforcing or recovery of any penalty, or in the commitment of any person for any offence against the provisions of this act; and that nothing herein contained shall authorize any such commissioner or assistant commissioner to act as a justice of the peace at any general or quarter sessions of the peace, or adjournment thereof, in any county, liberty, precinct or place.

And be it further enacted, That if any person, upon any examination upon oath under the authority of this act, shall wilfully and corruptly give false evidence, or if any person shall wilfully refuse to attend in obedience to any summons of any commissioner or assistant commissioner, or to give evidence, or shall wilfully alter, suppress, conceal, destroy, or refuse to produce any books, deeds, papers, accounts, and writings, or copies of the same, which may be so required to be produced before the said commissioners or assistant commissioners, every person so offending shall be deemed guilty of a *misdemeanour*; and if any declaration, made and subscribed in lieu of such oath, shall be untrue in any particular, the person making and subscribing the same shall forfeit the sum of *one hundred pounds*, which may be recovered in the same manner and under the same provisions as any penalty or forfeiture may be recovered under this act.

And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said commissioners, in any case where they see fit, to order and allow such expenses of witnesses, and of or attending the production of any books, deeds, papers, ac-



counts, or writings, or copies thereof, to or before the said commissioners or assistant commissioners, as such commissioner may deem reasonable, to be paid as follows; that is to say, out of the poor-rates of the respective parish or union which, in the opinion of the said commissioners, shall be interested or concerned in such attendance or production respectively in all cases in which such witnesses shall not be obliged or required to go or travel more than *ten* miles from the respective parish or union which shall be interested or concerned as aforesaid; and in all other cases the expenses so ordered or allowed shall be deemed and dealt with as part of the incidental expenses attending the execution of this act.

And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this act the administration of relief to the poor throughout England and Wales, shall be subject to the direction and control of the said commissioners; and for executing the powers given to them by and the regulating of the quantity, quality, and mode of such relief, this act, the said commissioners shall and are hereby authorized and required from time to time, as they shall see occasion, to make and issue all such rules, orders, and regulations for the management of the poor, for the government of workhouses, and the education of the children therein, and for the apprenticing the children of poor persons, and for the guidance and control of all guardians, vestries, and parish officers, so far as relates to the management or relief of the poor, and the keeping, examining, auditing and allowing of accounts, and making and entering into contracts in all matters relating to such management or relief, or to any expenditure for the relief of the poor, and for carrying this act into execution in all other respects, as they shall think proper; and the said commissioners may at their discretion from time to time suspend, alter or rescind such rules, orders, and regulations, or any of them: Provided always, that no general rule of the said commissioners shall operate or take effect until the expiration of *forty* days after the same or a copy thereof shall have been sent, signed and sealed, by the said commissioners, to one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state: and if at any time after any such general rule shall have been so sent to such principal secretary of state, his Majesty, with the advice of his privy council, shall disallow the same or any part thereof, such general rule or the part thereof so disallowed shall not come into operation if such disallowance be notified to the said commissioners at any time during the said period of *forty* days; but if such disallowance be made at any time after that period, such disallowance shall by one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state be notified to the said commissioners; and from and after such disallowance shall have been so notified, then such general rule, so far as the same shall have been so disallowed, shall cease to operate, subject however, and with-

out prejudice to all acts and transactions under or in virtue of the same, previously to such disallowance having been so notified; and no general rule or order or regulation shall be removable by writ of certiorari or otherwise into any of his Majesty's courts of record.

And be it further enacted, That a written or printed copy of every rule, order or regulation of the said commissioners shall, before the same shall come into operation in any parish or union, be sent by the said commissioners by the post, or in such manner as the commissioners shall think fit, sealed or stamped with their seal, addressed to the churchwardens and overseers of such parish, the guardians of such union or their clerk, and also to the clerk of the peace of the county, and to the clerk, to the justices of the petty sessions, held for the division, in which such parish or union shall be situate; and such churchwardens, overseers, guardians, or their clerk, clerks of the peace and clerks to the justices aforesaid, are hereby required to keep and preserve, notify and give publicity to such rules, orders, and regulations, in such manner as the said commissioners shall direct, and also to allow every owner of property or rate-payer, in every such parish or union, to inspect the same at all reasonable times, free of any charge for such inspection, and to furnish copies of the same, being paid for such copies in the same manner, and at the same rate, as copies of the poor-rate are by law allowed or required to be taken or furnished; and in case any such churchwarden, or overseer, guardian, clerk, clerk of the peace, or clerk to the justices, to whom such rules, orders, or regulations, or copies thereof, shall be sent as aforesaid, shall neglect to keep and preserve, notify and give publicity to the same in the mode prescribed or directed by the said commissioners, or shall refuse such inspection, or to furnish or allow such copies thereof to be taken as aforesaid, every person so offending shall for every such offence be subject and liable to a penalty not exceeding the sum of *ten* pounds nor less than *forty* shillings, to be recoverable in the same manner as any penalties are by this act directed to be recovered: Provided also, that if any such rule shall after the same shall have come into operation be disallowed in manner hereinbefore mentioned, then and in every such case, the said commissioners shall send by the post, or in such manner as they shall think fit, to every parish or union affected by the said rule, notice of such disallowance; such notice of disallowance to be addressed, kept, preserved, notified, and publicly inspected, and copies thereof furnished or allowed to be taken in such and the same manner, and subject to the same penalties as are hereinbefore mentioned respecting the rules, orders and regulations of the said commissioners.

And be it further enacted, That all the powers and authorities given in, and by a certain act of Parliament, passed in the twenty-

second year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Third, intituled, "An act for the better relief and employment of the poor," and in and by a certain other act passed in the fifty-ninth year of the reign of his said late Majesty, intituled, "An act to amend the laws for the relief of the poor," and all acts for amending such acts respectively, and also all the powers and authorities given by every other act of Parliament, general as well as local, for or relating to the building, altering or enlarging of poor-houses and workhouses, and to the acquiring, purchasing, hiring, holding, selling, exchanging, and disposing thereof, or of land whereon the same may have been or may hereafter be erected, and of preparing such houses for the reception of poor persons, and the dieting, clothing, employing, and governing of such poor, and the raising or borrowing of money for any of the purposes aforesaid, and for repaying the same, and all powers of regulating and conducting all other workhouses whatsoever, and of governing, and providing for, and employing the poor therein, and all powers auxiliary to any of the powers aforesaid, or in any way relating to the relief of the poor, shall in future be under the control, and subject to the rules, orders, and regulations, of the said commissioners; and the said commissioners and assistant commissioners respectively, and every of them, shall be entitled to attend at every parochial and other local board and vestry, and take part in the discussions, but not to vote at such board or vestry: Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to give the said commissioners or assistant commissioners, any power to order or direct the building, purchasing, hiring, altering, or enlarging of any workhouse, or the purchasing or hiring of any land at the charge or for the use of any parish or union, save and except as such powers are expressly given and to be exercised in the manner and subject to the limitations prescribed by the provisions of this act.

And whereas by the said act made and passed in the twenty-second year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Third, it is (among other things) enacted, that the rules, orders, and regulations, specified and contained in the schedule thereunto annexed should be duly observed and enforced at every poor-house or workhouse to be provided by virtue of the said act, with such additions as should be made by the justices of the peace of the limit wherein such house or houses should be situate, at some special session, provided that such additions should not be contradictory to the rules, orders, and regulations established by that act, and provided that the same should not be repealed by the justices at their quarter sessions of the peace; and it is expedient that such additions, or other rules, orders, or regulations, under that or any local act, should not in future be made without the sanction of the said commissioners; be it therefore enacted, That no additions

shall hereafter be made to the rules, orders, and regulations contained in the schedule to the said recited act, and no rules, orders, and regulations shall hereafter be made under the authority of the said recited act, or any local act relating to poor-houses, workhouses, or the relief of the poor, until the same shall have been submitted to, and approved and confirmed by the said commissioners; and that the same, when so confirmed, shall be legally valid and binding upon all persons; and the said justices at quarter sessions shall have no power to repeal the same.

And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said commissioners, and they are hereby empowered, from time to time when they may see fit, by any writing under their hands and seal, by and with the consent in writing of a *majority* of the guardians of any parish or union, or with the consent of a *majority* of the owners of property, entitled to vote in manner hereinafter prescribed, and rate-payers in any parish not under the government or control of guardians, such last-mentioned majority to be ascertained in manner provided in and by this act, to order and direct the overseers or guardians of any parish or union not having a workhouse or workhouses to build a workhouse or workhouses, and to purchase or hire land for the purpose of building the same thereon, or to purchase or hire a workhouse or workhouses, or any building or buildings for the purpose of being used as or converted into a workhouse or workhouses; and with the like consent to order and direct the overseers or guardians of any parish or union having a workhouse or workhouses, or any buildings capable of being converted into a workhouse or workhouses, to enlarge or alter the same in such manner as the said commissioners shall deem most proper for carrying the provisions of this act into execution, or to build, hire, or purchase any additional workhouse or workhouses, or any building or buildings for the purpose of being used as or converted into a workhouse or workhouses, or to purchase or hire any land for building such additional workhouse or workhouses thereon, of such size and description, and according to such plan, and in such manner as the said commissioners shall deem most proper for carrying the provisions of this act into execution; and the overseers and guardians to whom any such order shall be directed are hereby authorized and required to assess, raise, and levy such sum or sums of money as may be necessary for the purposes specified in such order, by such powers, ways, and means as are now by law given to or vested in churchwardens and overseers or guardians of the poor for purchasing or hiring land, or for building, hiring, and maintaining workhouses for the use of the poor in their respective parishes or unions, or to borrow money for such purposes, under the provisions of this or any other act or acts.

And be it further enacted, That for the bet-



ter and more effectually securing the repayment of any sum or sums of money which may be borrowed for the purposes aforesaid, with interest, it shall be lawful for the said overseers or guardians to charge the future poor-rates, of such parish or union with the amount of such sum or sums of money: Provided always, that the principal sum or sums to be raised for such purposes, whether raised within the year or borrowed, shall in no case exceed the average annual amount of the rates raised for the relief of the poor in such parish or union for *three* years, ending at the *Easter* next preceding the raising of such money; and that any loan or money borrowed for any of the purposes aforesaid, shall be repaid by annual instalments of not less than *one tenth* of the sum borrowed, with interest on the same, in any one year.

And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said commissioners, and they are hereby empowered, from time to time, when they may see fit, and without requiring any such consent as aforesaid, by any writing under their hands and seal, to order and direct the overseers or guardians of any parish or union having a workhouse or workhouses, or any building capable of being converted into a workhouse or workhouses, to enlarge or alter the same, according to such plan and in such manner as the said commissioners shall deem most proper for carrying the provisions of this act into execution; and the overseers or guardians to whom any such order shall be directed are hereby authorized and required to assess, raise, and levy such sum or sums of money as may be necessary for the purposes specified in such order, by such powers, ways, and means as are now by law given to or vested in churchwardens and overseers or guardians of the poor for altering, enlarging, and maintaining workhouses for the use of the poor in their respective parishes or unions: Provided always, that the principal sum or sums to be raised for such purposes, without such consent as aforesaid, shall in no case exceed *one-tenth* of the average annual amount of the rates raised for the relief of the poor in such parish or union for the *three* years ending at the *Easter* next preceding the raising of such money.

And for diminishing the expense of providing and supporting workhouses, and for the more effectual classification of poor persons receiving relief therein; be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said commissioners, as and when they shall see fit, to declare so many of such parishes as they may specify to be united for the purpose of having one or more of such workhouses for their common use; and such parishes shall thereupon be deemed a union for that purpose; and the said commissioners may issue such rules, orders, and regulations as they shall deem expedient for the classification of the poor of such united parishes in such workhouse or workhouses accordingly, and such poor may be received, maintained, and

employed in any such workhouse or workhouses as if the same belonged exclusively to the parish to which such poor shall be chargeable; but notwithstanding such union and classification, each of the said parishes shall be separately chargeable with and liable to defray the expense of such of its poor as may be received and maintained in any of the said workhouses.

And be it further enacted, That when any union of parishes shall be proposed to be made or shall be made under any of the provisions of this act, it shall be lawful for the said commissioners and they are hereby required from time to time, by such means and in such manner as they may think fit, to inquire into and ascertain the expense incurred by each parish proposed to form part of such union for or relating to the relief or on account of the poor belonging to such parish whether such relief shall have been given in or out of any workhouse for the *three* years ending at the *Easter* next preceding such inquiry; and thereupon the said commissioners shall proceed to calculate and ascertain the annual average expense of each parish for that period; and the several parishes included or proposed to be included in such union shall, from the time of effecting the same, contribute and be assessed to a common fund for purchasing, building, hiring, or providing, altering or enlarging any workhouse or other place for the reception and relief of the poor of such parishes, or for the purchase or renting of any lands or tenements under and by virtue of the provisions of this act, of or for such union, and for the future upholding and maintaining of such workhouses or places aforesaid, and the payment or allowance of the officers of such union, and the providing of utensils and materials for setting the poor on work therein, and for any other expense to be incurred for the common use or benefit or on the common account of such parishes, in the like proportions as on the said annual average of the said *three* years such relief had cost each such parish separately, until such average shall be varied or altered as hereinafter provided: Provided always, and the said commissioners are hereby authorized, if they shall so think fit, but not otherwise, from time to time, either upon the application of the guardians of such union, or of the overseers of any parish forming part of the same, or without such application, to cause a like inquiry and calculation to be made and average ascertained for the *three* years ending at the *Easter* next preceding such inquiry; and from and after the ascertaining of any such average, or of any succeeding average, the respective parishes of such union shall contribute and be assessed to the common fund thereof, for the purposes aforesaid, in the proportions which the expense of such parishes shall be found to have borne to each other during such period, upon the average which shall have been so last ascertained, until a

like inquiry shall be again made, and a new average and proportion ascertained, for the future assessment of such parishes.

And whereas in divers unions formed under the said recited act made and passed in the twenty-second year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Third, intituled, "An act for the better relief and employment of the poor," or under local acts of incorporation, the whole of the expense, as well of upholding the united workhouses therein, as of maintaining and relieving the poor of the respective parishes of such unions, is assessed upon such parishes in the respective proportions fixed at the period when such unions were formed, and in others a part of such expenses is so levied, and a part subjected to variations at stated periods: And whereas some of the parishes of such unions have contributed, and still continue to contribute, as their fixed proportion of the general fund, a sum much larger, and others a sum much less, than the actual expense incurred for the relief of the poor belonging to them respectively: For remedy thereof, be it enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said commissioners, as soon as conveniently may be after the passing of this act, to cause an inquiry to be made and an account rendered, as far as it may be practicable to render the same, by the visitors, directors, acting guardians, or other officers of such parishes or unions respectively, of the expense incurred for the relief of the poor belonging to each parish within any such union, whether such poor shall have been relieved in or out of such parish respectively, or in or out of any united workhouse, and whether such expense has been paid by the general fund of such union, or the parochial funds of any of the parishes thereof, or by any private rate or general subscription in lieu of a rate among the rate-payers of any such parish, and whether passed through the books or paid under the control of the managers or officers of such union, or not, for the period of three years ending at Easter one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, including therein a due proportion of the expense of maintaining the united workhouses and establishment of such union, calculated according to the actual expense otherwise incurred for the relief of the poor belonging to each such parish; and the average annual amount of such expense shall be deemed and taken to have been the annual expense incurred by such parish on account of its poor, notwithstanding such parish may have contributed a greater or smaller sum than such annual average to the general funds of the union during such period; and such annual average so ascertained as aforesaid shall be deemed and taken as the fixed proportion to be contributed and paid by each such parish respectively towards a common fund for the future hiring, maintaining, and upholding, repairing, altering, or enlarging of any workhouse, and the renting of any land used by such union at the passing of

this act, and for the purchasing, building, hiring, maintaining, upholding, repairing, altering or enlarging of any new workhouse or workhouses, or other place for the reception and relief of the poor belonging to the parishes of such union, and for the renting or purchase of any lands or tenements under or by virtue of the provisions of this act, and the payment or allowance of any officers of such union, and the providing of utensils or materials for setting the poor on work therein, and for any other expense to be in future incurred for the common use or benefit of such parishes, and in addition to the cost or proportion of cost of the poor of such parishes, who shall be maintained or relieved in or out of any workhouse of such union, for which each such parish shall in future be charged separately; any provision or enactment in the said recited act, or in any such local acts, to the contrary notwithstanding: Provided always, and the said commissioners are hereby authorized, if they see fit, but not otherwise, upon the application of the guardians of any such last-mentioned union, or of the overseers of any parish forming part of the same, or without such application from time to time to cause an inquiry and calculation to be made and average ascertained for the three years ending at the Easter next preceding such inquiry, of the expense incurred by each such parish, as well in respect of its contribution to such common fund, as of the cost or proportion of cost of its poor which shall have been maintained or relieved in or out of any workhouse of such union during such period of three years; and from and after the ascertaining of such average, or of any succeeding average, the respective parishes of such union shall contribute and be assessed to the common fund thereof for the purposes for which such common fund is heretofore declared to be applicable in the proportions which the expense of such parishes shall be found to have borne to each other during such period, upon the average which shall have been so last ascertained, until a like inquiry shall be again made: and a new average and proportion ascertained for the future assessment of such parishes to such common fund.

And for facilitating the inquiries directed by this act; be it enacted, That unless and until they shall be proved to the satisfaction of the said commissioners to be incorrect, the returns made to Parliament of the sums expended for the relief of the poor of any parish for the last three years previous to the passing of this act shall be deemed to be the actual expense incurred by each such parish respectively during that period, for the purposes aforesaid, and on account of the poor belonging to such parish respectively, and shall be taken as the ground on which such wages shall be calculated and ascertained.

And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this act so much of the said recited act made and passed in the twenty-second year of the reign of his said late



Majesty King George the Third, intituled, "An Act for the better Relief and Employment of the Poor," as provides that no parish, township, hamlet or place, which shall be situate more than *ten* miles from any poor-house or workhouse to be provided under the authority of that act, shall be permitted to be united for the purposes therein mentioned with the parishes, townships, hamlets, and places which shall establish such poor-house or workhouse as therein mentioned, and as limits the class or description of persons who shall be sent to such poor-house or workhouse; and so much of a certain act made and passed in the fifty-sixth year of the reign of his said late Majesty King George the Third, intituled, "An Act to repeal certain provisions in Local Acts for the Maintenance and Management of the Poor," as repeals all enactments and provisions contained in any act or acts of Parliament, since the commencement of the reign of his late Majesty King George the First, whereby any parish, township, or hamlet at a greater distance than *ten* miles from such house of industry or workhouse shall thereafter be empowered or authorized to become contributors to or to take the benefit of such house of industry or workhouse, shall be and the same is hereby repealed.

And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said commissioners, from time to time, as they may see fit, by order under their hands and seal, to declare any union, whether formed before or after the passing of this act (except when united for the purposes of settlement under the provisions herein contained), to be dissolved, or any parish or parishes, specifying the same, to be separated from or added to any such union, and, as the case may be, such union shall thereupon be dissolved, or such parish or parishes shall thereupon be separated from or added to such union accordingly; and the said commissioners shall in every such case frame and make rules, orders, and regulations as they may think fit for adapting the constitution, management, and board of guardians of every such union, from or to which there shall be such separation or addition as aforesaid, to the altered state of the same; and every such union shall after any such alteration be constituted, managed, and governed as if the same had been originally formed under this act in such altered state; and in case any union shall be wholly or partially dissolved as aforesaid, then the parishes constituting, or in case of a partial dissolution, separated from any such union, shall thenceforth be subject to be re-united, or united with other parishes or unions, or otherwise dealt with according to the provisions of this act, as the said commissioners shall think fit: Provided always, that in every such case the said commissioners shall, and they are hereby required to, ascertain the proportionate value to every parish of such union of the workhouses or other property held or enjoyed by such union for the use of the poor or benefit of the rate-

payers therein, and also the proportionate amount chargeable on every parish in respect of all the liabilities of such union existing at the time of such dissolution or alteration of the same; and the said commissioners shall thereupon fix the amount to be received or paid, or secured to be paid, by every parish affected by such alteration; and the sum to be received, if any, by such parish, shall be paid, or, as the said commissioners shall direct, be secured to be paid to the overseers or guardians of the same, for the benefit of such parish, and in diminution of the rates thereof, and of the expense attending such alteration; and the sum to be so paid or secured to be paid by every such parish shall be raised, under the direction of the said commissioners, by the overseers or guardians of such parish, or charged on the poor-rates of such parish, as the said commissioners may see fit, and shall be paid or secured for the use and benefit of the union from which the same shall have been so separated, or of the persons or parishes otherwise entitled thereto, as the case may be: Provided always, that no such dissolution or alteration of the parishes constituting any such union as aforesaid shall in any manner prejudice, vary, or affect the rights or interests of third persons, unless such third persons, by themselves or their agents, shall consent, in writing, to such dissolution or proposed alteration, and that no such dissolution or alteration shall take place or be made unless a majority of not less than *two-thirds* of the guardians of such union shall also concur therein; and in every such case, when the said majority of the guardians of such union shall so concur in such proposed alteration, the terms on which such concurrence shall have been given, if approved by the said commissioners, shall be binding and conclusive on the several parishes of such union.

And be it further enacted, That in any union already formed, or which may hereafter be formed in pursuance of, or under the provisions of this act, it shall be lawful to and for a *majority*, consisting of *three-fourths* of the guardians of such union, under their hands, to agree, subject to the approbation of the said commissioners, for or on behalf of the respective parishes forming such union, that, for the purposes of settlement, such parishes shall be considered as one parish; and in such case such agreement shall be reduced into writing in such form as the said commissioners shall prescribe, and the same and as many parts or duplicates thereof as the said commissioners shall direct, shall be signed by the said *majority* of the said guardians consenting thereto, and signed and sealed by the said commissioners, one whereof shall be forthwith deposited with the said commissioners, and another or others with the clerk or clerks of the peace of the county or counties, district, or districts in which the parishes of such union shall be respectively situate; and the said clerk or clerks of the peace shall,

and is or are hereby required, upon the receipt of such agreement, or any part or duplicate thereof so signed and sealed as aforesaid, to file the same with the records of such county or counties, district or districts; and from and after the depositing of the same as aforesaid the said agreement shall for ever thereafter be binding on each of such parishes, and shall not be revoked or annulled; and the settlement of a poor person in any one of the parishes of such union shall be considered, as between such parishes, a settlement in such union, and the expense of maintaining, supporting, and relieving every such poor person, and all other expenses of maintaining, supporting, and relieving the poor to which any one of such parishes shall be liable after the depositing of such agreement, part, or duplicate as aforesaid, or of ascertaining, litigating, or adjudging the settlement of any poor person in any of such parishes, shall form part of the general expenses, and be paid out of the common funds of such union: Provided always, that wherever such agreement is entered into as aforesaid, the rate or proportion of contribution to such common funds to be thereafter paid by each of the parishes of such union shall be ascertained and fixed in like manner as in and by this act is provided for in cases where any union of parishes is made or proposed to be made under the provisions thereof, and shall not be subject to further variation.

And be it further enacted, That wherever any such last-mentioned union shall have been formed in pursuance of the provision last herein contained, it shall and may be lawful for the guardians of such union, by any writing under their hands, to agree, with the approbation of the said commissioners, for or on behalf of the respective parishes for which they shall so act as guardians, that, for the purposes of raising in common the necessary funds for the relief of the poor of such union, such parishes shall be considered one parish; and in such case such agreement shall be signed by the said guardians, and signed and sealed by the said commissioners, and one part thereof deposited with the said commissioners, and a counterpart or counterparts thereof, signed by the said guardians, and signed and sealed by the said commissioners, deposited with the said clerk or clerks of the peace of the county or counties, district or districts in which the said parishes of such union shall be situate; and the said clerk or clerks of the peace shall and is and are hereby required upon the receipt of such agreement to file the same with the records of such county or counties, district or districts; and from and after the depositing of such last-mentioned agreement, the same shall be for ever binding upon such parishes, and shall not be revoked or annulled.

And be it further enacted, That from and after such depositing of the said agreement, the said guardians shall, under such regulations as the said commissioners shall in that

respect prescribe, proceed to ascertain and assess the value of the property in the several parishes of such union rateable to the relief of the poor, and to cause to be made such surveys and valuations of the said property or any part thereof as may be necessary from time to time to make a fair and just assessment upon the said united parishes in respect of such property so rateable as aforesaid; and every such assessment or valuation, and all rates grounded thereon, shall from time to time be laid before the justices acting for the several parishes in such unions at their petty sessions, or at a special sessions called for the purpose, to be by them adjusted, allowed and confirmed in such manner as rates for the poor are now adjusted, allowed and confirmed by justices at any general or quarter sessions, or at any special or petty sessions of such justices; and the rate-payers affected by such assessment or valuation shall in every such case and from time to time have the like power of appeal against any such assessment or valuation before such justices at any petty or special sessions as is now given to or vested in rate-payers in the case of appeals against the poor-rates or any assessment to the relief of the poor, before the justices at their general or quarter sessions, or any adjournment thereof; and from and after the making, adjusting, confirming, and allowing of every such assessment or valuation the same shall be binding upon all the parishes of such union and the rate-payers therein, as if the same were the separate assessment of each parish respectively.

And be it further enacted, That from and after any such common rate shall have come into operation, the proportions of contribution fixed at the period of uniting such parishes, or existing at the time of such last-mentioned agreement for a common rate, shall wholly cease; and all expenditure in respect of the poor of such union, or chargeable in any way on the poor-rates of the respective parishes thereof, shall be deemed and be the common expenditure of such union, and be chargeable upon and paid out of the common or general fund to be raised upon such parishes under such common rate, according to the valuation or assessment of the rateable property in such parishes, so ascertained, confirmed and allowed by the said justices from time to time in manner hereinbefore provided: Provided always, that the expense of every such valuation shall at all times be a charge on the common rate of such parishes: Provided also, That in case any parish of such union, at the period of entering into such agreement for a common rate, shall not be represented by a guardian elected solely by such parish, such parish shall not be bound by any such agreement unless a majority of the owners of property entitled to vote in the manner provided by this act, and of the rate-payers in such parish, shall, by their votes in writing, testify their assent to such agreement in such form as the said commissioners shall prescribe; and in case such assent shall not be so given,



such parish shall be wholly omitted from such agreement, and be liable and continue to pay such proportion only of the common assessment as it was bound to pay upon the forming of the union of such parishes.

(To be continued.)

From the **LONDON GAZETTE**,

FRIDAY, MAY 30, 1834.

**INSOLVENTS.**

PAYNE, H., Rotherham, Yorkshire, grocer.  
TROUGHTON, C., Overton, Hampshire, silk-throwster.

**BANKRUPTS.**

BOULTING, J. jun., Wells, Somersetshire, innholder.  
BOWKER, J., sen., Salford, Lancashire, dyer.  
BROOKES, A., Newport, Shropsh., scrivener.  
DUCOTE, P. A., St. Martin's-lane, lithographer.  
GARDENER, J., Llangollen, Denbighshire, linen-manufacturer.  
GENGE, R., East Chinnock, Somersetshire, sail-cloth-manufacturer.  
HARPER, W., New-street, Dorset-square, butcher.  
JENKINS, J., Land-end, Staffordsh., cooper.  
PISTRUCCI, F., Broad-street, Golden-square, artist.  
ROSS, C., Beverley, Yorkshire, wine-merchant.  
SAINTY, P., Wivenhoe, Essex, shipwright.  
SANDYS, H., W., and H., Craue-court, Fleet-street, scriveners.  
SCHONSWAR, G., jun., Willero, Kingston-upon-Hull, merchant.  
TEWSLEY, W., Mortlake, Surrey, grocer.  
WORLEY, W., Birmingham, nurseryman.

**SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.**

LOCHORE, J., Glasgow, builder.

TUESDAY, JUNE 3, 1834.

**INSOLVENT.**

SMALL, M., Bristol, hackney-coach-proprietress.

**BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.**

PALLMER, C. N., Norbiton-house, Surrey, ship-owner.  
PERRY, C., Drury-lane, victualler.

**BANKRUPTS.**

BARROW, J., Selby, Yorkshire, wharfinger.  
BEANS, P., Manchester, grocer.  
BROWN, H., J. H. Bradley, and B. Harris, Gloucester and Birmingham, merchants.

CARTER, P. A., St. John-street, Clerkenwell, licensed victualler.

COLBOURNE, J., Sturminster, Newton Castle, Dorsetshire, and Poole, merchant.

DAWSON, J., Liverpool, scrivener.

FORD, R., Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire, clothier.

HUXTABLE, W., and R. Genge, Ilfracombe, Devonshire, ship-builders.

JACKSON, R., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, grocer.

PEACOCK, T., Skeldersgate, Yorkshire, timber-merchant.

STOCK, J., Bristol, cabinet-maker.

WOOD, J., Bolton-le-Moors, Lancashire, collier.

**LONDON MARKETS.**

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, June 2.—

The supplies of Wheat, together with Spring Corn from the home counties, as well as more distant parts have been extremely limited. Wheat met rather more inquiry on the part of the millers, without, however, rendering the trade brisk, though preserving a steady aspect, and prices of fine white samples may be noted 1s. to 2s. per quarter higher; but red qualities did not advance more than 1s. per quarter; secondary descriptions participated in the improvement, but were dull sale. In bonded Corn nothing transpiring.

Barley met inquiry, and grinding as well as distilling qualities must be noted 1s. higher. We did not hear of any transactions in bond.

Malt was more in request, and held at an advance of 1s. to 2s.

The supply of Oats, except from Scotland, has been very trifling, and as holders in consequence advanced their demands, 1s. to 1s. 6d. per quarter from the rates of this day week, dealers refrained from purchasing to any extent, in anticipation of increased supplies, and the trade did not exhibit much animation. Speculators having transmitted extensive orders abroad for the article, are awaiting their execution, previous to the purchasing the article in bonded warehouse, and therefore little business is transacting in loco in the foreign article; for rather a large parcel, however, of Russian feed, 14s. per quarter was refused.

Beans extremely scarce, and 1s. to 2s. dearer than on Monday.

Peas, being also in very limited supply, advanced considerably in value, owing to the demand, and unfavourable reports of the crops. White Peas must be noted 3s. to 4s. per qr. higher, and feed 2s. per quarter.

Flour dull sale, and ship marks difficult of disposal.

Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk 44s. to 49s.

— White ..... 48s. to 54s.

— Norfolk, Lincolnshire, } 42s. to 46s.

— and Yorkshire..... }

— White, ditto ..... 45s. to 52s.

— West Country red.....	43s. to 46s.
— White, ditto .....	45s. to 51s.
— Northumberland and } Berwickshire red.. }	39s. to 44s.
— White, ditto .....	40s. to 46s.
— Moray, Angus, and } Rothshire red..... }	36s. to 42s.
— White, ditto .....	43s. to 44s.
— Irish red .....	35s. to 41s.
— White, ditto .....	39s. to 43s.
Barley, Malting .....	28s. to 30s.
— Chevalier .....	—s. to 30s.
— Distilling .....	27s. to 29s.
— Grinding.....	25s. to 29s.
Malt, new.....	34s. to 48s.
— Norfolk, pale.....	50s. to 56s.
— Ware .....	50s. to 58s.
Peas, Hog and Grey .....	34s. to 36s.
— Maple .....	36s. to 38s.
— White Boilers .....	36s. to 41s.
Beans, Small .....	34s. to 40s.
— Harrow .....	31s. to 38s.
— Tick.....	30s. to 36s.
Oats, English Feed.....	22s. to 24s.
— Short, small .....	23s. to 25s.
— Poland .....	23s. to 26s.
— Scotch, common .....	23s. to 24s.
— — Potato .....	26s. to 27s.
— — Berwick .....	25s. to 26s.
— Irish, Galway, &c. ....	20s. to 21s.
— — Potato .....	23s. to 25s.
— — Black .....	22s. to 23s.
Bran, per bushel .....	12s. to 14s.
Flour, per sack .....	43s. to 46s.

## PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset .....	40s. to —s. per cwt.
— Cambridge ....	40s. to —s.
— York .....	40s. to 42s.
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 68s.
— Single ditto....	44s. to 48s.
— Cheshire.....	54s. to 74s.
— Derby .....	50s. to 60s.
Hams, Westmoreland..	50s. to 60s.
— Cumberland ...	46s. to 58s.

## SMITHFIELD, June 2.

This day's supply of Sheep, Lambs, and Calves, was moderately good; the supply of Beasts and Porkers rather limited. Trade was throughout dull. With Lamb, Veal, and Pork at a depression of from 2d. to 4d. per stone; with Beef and Mutton at barely Friday's quotations.

A full moiety of the Beasts were Scots, at least three-eighths, about equal numbers of Short-horns, Devons, and Welsh runts; and the remaining eighth, about equal numbers of Hereford, Irish Beasts, Town's-end Cows, a few Sussex Beasts, Staffords, &c.

A full third of the Sheep were South Downs, another third new Leicesters of the South Devon and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about two of the former to five of the latter; and the remaining third about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents,

Kentish half-breds, and horned and polled Norfolks, with a few pens of old Lincolns, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

A full moiety of the Lambs, the whole of which were supposed to number about 4000, were South Downs; and the remainder about equal numbers of new Leicesters, of different crosses, and Dorsets, with a few pens of Kentish half-breds, and sundry casual breeds.

About 1,400 of the Beasts, about 1,000 of which were Scots, the remainder about equal numbers of Short-horns, Devons, runts, and homebreds, were from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 250, chiefly Short-horns, with a few Scots, Devons, Herefords, and Irish beasts, from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, &c.; about 140, chiefly polled Scots, by steamers from Scotland; about 120, chiefly Devons, with a few Welsh runts, and Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 60, in about equal numbers of Sussex beasts, Devons, and Welsh runts, with a few Scots and Irish beasts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the neighbourhood of London.

## THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Fri. Sat. Mon. Tues. Wed. Thur	
Cons. Ann. }	92½ 92½ 92½ 92½ 91½ 92½

## COBBETT-LIBRARY.

Fourth Edition.

## COBBETT'S Spelling-Book

(Price 2s.)

Containing, besides all the usual matter of such a book, a clear and concise

INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

This I have written by way of

## A Stepping-Stone to my own Grammar;

such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

1. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—Of this work one hundred thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3s. bound in boards.

2. TULL'S HORSE-HOEING HUSBANDRY; or, a Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation. With an Introduction, by WM. COBBETT. 8vo. Price 15s.



### 3. THE EMIGRANT'S GUIDE.

Just now Published, under this Title, a little Volume, containing Ten Letters, addressed to English Tax-payers. A new edition, with a Postscript, containing an account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett. Price 2s. 6d. in bds.

### 4. THE WOODLANDS; or, a Treatise

on the preparing of the ground for planting; on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down, of Forest Trees and Underwoods. Price 14s. bound in boards.

### 5. YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA.—

The Price of this book, in good print and on fine paper, is 5s.

### 6. FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain

Instructions for the Learning of French. Price, bound in boards, 5s.

### 7. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—

I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writing, also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

### 8. MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS.—

This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law. The Price is 17s., and the manner of its execution is I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

9. MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE. Second Edition. Price 2s. 6d.

### 10. A TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN;

containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the Produce is applied. Price 5s.

### 11. LETTERS FROM FRANCE;

containing Observations made in that Country during a Residence of Two Months in the South, and Three Months at Paris. By JOHN M. COBBETT. Price 4s. in boards.

### 12. PROTESTANT "REFORMATION"

in England and Ireland, showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries. Two volumes, bound in boards. The Price of the first volume is 4s. 6d. The Price of the second volume 3s. 6d.

### 13. SERMONS.—

There are twelve of these, in one volume, on the following subjects: 1. Hypocrisy and Cruelty; 2. Drunkenness; 3. Bribery; 4. Oppression; 5. Unjust Judges; 6. The Sluggard; 7. The Murderer; 8. The Gamester; 9. Public Robbery; 10. The Unnatural Mother; 11. The Sin of Forbidding Marriage; 12. On the Duties of Parsons, and on the Institution and Object of Tithes. Price 3s. 6d. bound in boards.

A Thirteenth Sermon, entitled "GOOD FRIDAY; or, The Murder of Jesus Christ by the Jews." Price 6d.

*Just published,*

### PRACTICAL EXERCISES.

WITH

### A KEY TO COBBETT'S FRENCH GRAMMAR.

By J. P. Cobbett. Price Two Shillings.

A NEW

### FRENCH AND ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

In two parts. Part I. French and English.—Part II. English and French. By WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P. for Oldham.

*Just published, price 4d.,*

### NATIONAL REGENERATION.

1. Letter from Mr. Fitton to Mr. Fielden.
2. Letter from Mr. Fielden to Mr. Fitton.
3. Letter from Mr. Holt to Mr. Fielden.

Which Letters contain a development of all the principles and all the views connected with this important change in the manufacturing affairs of the country.

*Just Published,*

THE

### LIFE OF GENERAL JACKSON,

President of America; with an interesting frontispiece; and an exact likeness of the President. Price 3s. bds.

*Just published, price 4d.*

### MR. COBBETT'S SPEECH.

AND THE

OTHER SPEECHES ON HIS MOTION FOR AN ABOLITION OF THE MALT-TAX.

*Price 6s. a new edition of the*  
**ENGLISH GARDENER,**  
 OR,

**A TREATISE**

On the Situation, Soil, Enclosing and Laying-Out of Kitchen Gardens; on the Making and Managing of Hot-beds and Green-Houses; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen-Garden Plants, and of Fruit-Trees whether of the Garden or the Orchard.

AND ALSO,

On the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower-Gardens; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers;

CONCLUDING WITH

**A KALENDAR,**

Giving instructions relative to the Sowings, Plantings, Prunings, and other labours, to be performed in the Gardens, in each Month of the Year.

By WILLIAM COBBETT.

**JOURNAL**  
 OF

**A TOUR IN ITALY,**

AND ALSO IN PART OF

**FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND;**

*The route being*

From Paris, through Lyons, to Marseilles, and, thence, to Nice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Rome, Naples, and Mount Vesuvius;

AND

By Rome, Terni, Perugia, Arezzo, Florence Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, Venice, Verona Milan, over the Alps by Mount St. Bernard, Geneva, and the Jura, back into France;

The space of time being,  
 From October 1828, to September 1829.

CONTAINING

A description of the country, of the principal cities and their most striking curiosities; of the climate, soil, agriculture, horticulture, and products; of the prices of provisions and labour; and of the dresses and conditions of the people;

AND ALSO

An account of the laws and customs, civil and religious, and of the morals and demeanour of the inhabitants, in the several States.

By JAMES P. COBBETT.

*Price 12s.*

**A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY**  
**OF ENGLAND AND WALES;**  
 CONTAINING

The names, in Alphabetical Order, of all the Counties, with their several Subdivisions, into Hundreds, Lathes, Rapes, Wapentakes, Wards, or Divisions; and an Account of the Distribution of the Counties into Circuits, Dioceses, and Parliamentary Divisions.

ALSO,

The names (under that of each County respectively), in Alphabetical Order, of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Tithings, with the Distance of each from London, or from the nearest Market Town, and with the Population, and other interesting particulars relating to each; besides which there are

MAPS;

First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

FOUR TABLES

Are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties, and then three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832.

**CHEAP CLOTHING!!**

**SWAIN AND CO., Tailors, &c.,**

**93, FLEET-STREET,**

*(Near New Bridge-street.)*

**B**EG the attention of the public to their extensive stock of goods for the present season, which they supply at the following prices:—

FOR CASH ONLY.

	£.	s.	d.
A Suit of Superfine Clothes.....	4	18	0
Ditto, Black or Blue.....	5	10	0
Ditto, Imperial Saxony.....	6	0	0
Petersham Great Coats.....	3	3	0
Barogan or Velveteen Shooting } Jackets.....	1	10	0
Cobbett's Cord Trowsers.....	1	2	0
A complete Suit of Livery.....	4	10	0
SPANISH, OPERA, and WALKING CLOAKS, LADIES' HABITS AND PELISSES, and CHILDREN'S DRESSES, and every other article in the trade made in the most elegant manner.			

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction.  
 WM. COBBETT.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.